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cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, & firme land so found. Yet so that the aforesayd Iohn, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they shall arriue at our port of Bristoll (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoever they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subiects be frequented or visited without the licence of the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singuler goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singuler our subiects aswell on land as on sea, to giue good assistance to the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in prouision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessary for the sayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witnesse whereof we haue caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.

THE king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take sixe English ships in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Maiesties priuie gal-

IN the yeere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fife of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation as we haue our finest garments. In their warres they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white beares, and staggess farre greater than ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons; there are soles also aboue a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hauks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauens, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discovery of part of the West India out of England in the time of king Henry the seuenth, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort. .

DOe you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the North-west, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his vertues he is preferred about all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert

man in that science, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who intainted him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Nauigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine than humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediately commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to finde any other land than that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinotiall (euer with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, intainted me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships,

wherewith they caused me to saile to discover the coastes of Brazile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of siluer, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more than sixe score leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this Riuer runne so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue myselte to rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great capitaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iagues Cartier, a Briton, who sailed vnto the land situate in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not thoroughly knowen, whether they doe ioine with the firme lande of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they bee separated and diuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the country of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written vnto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seuenth king of England: and he aduertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11 day of Iune finding still the open Sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discover this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easy and shortest of all other wayes

hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

Another testimonie of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixt Chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

THESE North Seas haue bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents carried with them into England, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandise, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that hee was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much Southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As hee traueiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently than the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southwards. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknown, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East vnto the West: which waters I suppose to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the uncessant mouing and impulsion of the heauens, and not to bee swallowed vp and cast vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in

the Seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those regions couered with beastes skinnes, yet not without the vse of reason. He also saith there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselves in y^e water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue him sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seuenth of that name King of England, he was made one of our council and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discover this hid secret of Nature.

The testimonie of Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discoverie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebastian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought most certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingals did. He carried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the days were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sayled along the coast vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

A note of Sebastian Cabots first discoverie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians

Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stow a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the King caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Of three Sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his reigne, mentioned by the foresaid Robert Fabian.

THis yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, & did eate raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanour like to brute beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I saw two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speech, I heard none of them vtter one word.

A brieve extract concerning the discoverie of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of M. Robert Thorne, to Doctor Leigh, &c.

I Reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discouery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as now plainly appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde cometh, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot of England.

Edward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable service done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduice and counsel of our most honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerset governour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subiects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, haue giuen & granted, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundredth, three-score & sixe pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, to haue, enioy, and yerely receiue the aforesaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers & paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, S. Michael y^e Archangel, & the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the aduise and consent aforesaide wee doe giue, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the aforesaide Sebastian Cabota, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundredth, three-score and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise vnto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past vnto this present time, to be had and receiued by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabota, and his assignees out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaide Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therefore to be yeilded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patens: Witnesse the King at Westminster the sixt day of Ianuarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

"Sometimes in Wagner's musical dramas the introduction of a few notes from some leading melody foretells the inevitable catastrophe toward which the action is moving, as when in Lohengrin's bridal chamber the well-known sound of the distant Grail motive steals suddenly upon the ear, and the heart of the rapt listener is smitten with a sense of impending doom. So in the drama of maritime discovery, as glimpses of new worlds were beginning to reward the enterprising crowns of Spain and Portugal, for a moment there came from the North a few brief notes fraught with ominous portent. The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire of which these Southern nations—so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy—were dreaming stretched forth her hand in quiet disregard of papal bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from the Bristol channel on a bright May morning of 1497."—JOHN FISKE, *The Discovery of America*.

The slight contemporary mention, which is all that we have of the voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498, does not enable us to determine with precision the parts of the North American coast that were visited. We know that a chart of the first voyage was made; for both the Spanish envoys, Puebla and Ayala, writing between August 24, 1497, and July 25, 1498, mentioned having seen such a chart, and from an inspection of it they concluded that the distance run did not exceed 400 leagues. The Venetian merchant, Pasqualigo, gave the distance more correctly as 700 leagues, and added that Cabot followed the coast of the "territory of the Grand Khan" for 300 leagues, and in returning saw two islands to starboard. An early tradition fixed upon the coast of Labrador as the region first visited, and until lately this has been the prevailing opinion.

The chart seen by the Spanish ministers in London is unfortunately lost. But a map engraved in Germany or Flanders in 1544 or later, and said to be after a drawing by Sebastian Cabot, has at the north of what we call the island of Cape Breton the legend "*prima tierra vista*," i.e. "*first land seen*"; and in this connection there is a marginal inscription, Spanish and Latin, saying, "This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ M. cccc. xciii * on the 24th day of June in the morning, which country they called *prima tierra vista*, and a large island near by they named St. John because they discovered it on the same day." Starting from this information, it has been supposed that the navigators, passing this St. John, which we call Prince Edward Island, coasted around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and passed out through the Strait of Belle Isle. The two islands seen on the starboard would then be points on the northern

* This date is wrong. The first two letters after xc should be joined together at the bottom, making a v.

coast of Newfoundland, and a considerable part of Pasqualigo's 300 leagues of coasting would thus be accounted for. But inasmuch as the "Matthew" had returned to Bristol by the first of August, it may be doubted whether so long a route could have been traversed within five weeks.

If we could be sure that the map of 1544 in its present shape and with all its legends emanated from Sebastian Cabot, and was drawn with the aid of charts made at the time of discovery, its authority would be very high indeed. But there are some reasons for supposing it to have been amended or "touched up" by the engraver; and it is evidently compiled from charts made later than 1536, for it shows the results of Jacques Cartier's explorations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Its statement as to the first landfall is, moreover, in conflict with the testimony of the merchant Robert Thorne, of Bristol, in 1527, and with that of two maps made at Seville in 1527 and 1529, according to which the "*prima tierra vista*" was somewhere on the coast of Labrador. It must be remembered, too, that John Cabot was instructed to take northerly and westerly courses, not southerly; and an important despatch from Raimondo de Soncino, in London, to the Duke of Milan, dated December 18, 1497, describes his course in accordance with these instructions. It is perfectly definite and altogether probable. According to this account Cabot sailed from Bristol in a small ship, manned by eighteen persons, and, having cleared the western shores of Ireland, turned northward, after a few days headed for Asia, and stood mainly west till he reached "Terra Firma," where he planted the royal standard, and forthwith returned to England. In other words, he followed the common custom in those days of first running to a chosen parallel, and then following that parallel to the point of destination. Such a course could hardly have landed him anywhere save on the coast of Labrador. Supposing his return voyage simply to have reversed this course, running southeasterly to the latitude of the English channel and then sailing due east, he may easily have coasted 300 leagues with land to starboard before finally bearing away from Cape Race. This view is in harmony with the fact that on the desolate coasts passed he saw no Indians or other human beings. He noticed the abundance of cod-fish, however, in the waters about Newfoundland, and declared that the English would no longer need to go to Iceland for their fish. Our informant adds that Master John, being foreign-born and poor, would have been set down as a liar, had not his crew, who were mostly Bristol men, confirmed everything he said.—FISKE.

John Cabot, like Columbus a native of Genoa, moved to England with his family from Venice, which had been his home for fifteen years, about 1490, and settled at Bristol. He may have been among those who were influenced at that time by the arguments of Bartholomew Columbus. Excited by the news of the first voyage of Columbus, he sailed from Bristol with a crew of eighteen men, probably accompanied by his son Sebastian,

from the following list of the subjects of the first seventeen numbers, which are now ready.

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio.* 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 17. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics have also published a Manual of the Constitution of the United States, with bibliographical and historical notes and outlines for study, by Edwin D. Mead. This manual is published for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. Our societies of young men and women entering upon historical and political studies can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House*.

* Double number, price ten cents.

*Old South Meeting House,
Boston, 1889.*



Verrazzano's Voyage.

1524.

CAPTAIN JOHN DE VERRAZZANO TO HIS MOST SERENE
MAJESTY, THE KING OF FRANCE, WRITES:

Since the tempests which we encountered on the northern coasts, I have not written to your most Serene and Christian Majesty concerning the four ships sent out by your orders on the ocean to discover new lands, because I thought you must have been before apprized of all that had happened to us—that we had been compelled by the impetuous violence of the winds to put into Brittany in distress with only the two ships Normandy and Dolphin; and that after having repaired these ships, we made a cruise in them, well armed, along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard, and also of our new plan of continuing our begun voyage with the Dolphin alone; from this voyage being now returned, I proceed to give your Majesty an account of our discoveries.

On the 17th of last January we set sail from a desolate rock near the island of Madeira, belonging to his most Serene Majesty, the King of Portugal, with fifty men, having provisions sufficient for eight months, arms and other warlike munition and naval stores. Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze, in twenty-five days we ran eight hundred leagues. On the 24th of February we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered, from which we escaped unhurt by the divine assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the violent tossing of the waves. Pursuing our voyage towards the West, a little northwardly, in twenty-four days more, having run four hundred leagues, we reached a new country, which had never before been seen by any one, either in ancient or modern times. At first it appeared to be very low,

but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretched to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port, in which we might come to anchor, and examine into the nature of the country, but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely. Seeing the coast still stretch to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward, and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the sea-side fled at our approach, but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced, by various friendly signs, to come to us. These showed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your Majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals like martens fastened by a girdle of plaited grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians; their hair is black and thick, and not very long; it is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body; the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces, but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the east, especially those the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages on account of our short stay among them, and the distance of our ship from the shore.

We found not far from this people another whose mode of life we judged to be similar. The whole shore is covered with fine sand, about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills

about fifty paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea which make in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests of trees, more or less dense, too various in colours, and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that they are like the Hercynian forest or the rough wilds of Scythia, and the northern regions full of vines and common trees, but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses, and other varieties unknown in Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance, but which we could not examine more closely for the reasons before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, on the contrary, are easily penetrated.

As the "East" stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the colour of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water, and being in the latitude of 34. the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions, the most prevalent are the north-west and west. In summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear, with but little rain: if fogs and mists are at any time driven in by the south wind, they are instantaneously dissipated, and at once it becomes serene and bright again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, and its waves are gentle. Although the whole coast is low and without harbours, it is not dangerous for navigation, being free from rocks and bold, so that within four or five fathoms from the shore there is twenty-four feet of water at all times of tide, and this depth constantly increases in a uniform proportion. The holding ground is so good that no ship can part her cable, however violent the wind, as we proved by experience; for while riding at anchor on the coast, we were overtaken by a gale in the beginning of March, when the winds are high, as is usual in all countries, we found our anchor broken before it started from its hold or moved at all.

We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west (east?); the in-

habitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your Majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them that he lay as it were dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trowsers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore, then leaving him, that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black like the others, that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; this is all that he observed of them.

Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the largest forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around we discovered in the

grass a very old woman and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason; the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age; when we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any; every thing we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants, which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp; their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others. Their food is a kind of pulse which there abounds, different in colour and size from ours, and of a very delicious flavour. Besides they take birds and fish for food, using snares and bows made of hard wood, with reeds for arrows, in the ends of which they put the bones of fish and other animals. The animals in these regions are wilder than in Europe from being continually molested by the hunters. We saw many of their boats made of one tree twenty feet long and four feet broad, without the aid of stone or iron or other kind of metal. In the whole country for the space of two hundred leagues, which we visited, we saw no stone of any sort. To hollow out their boats they burn out as much of a log as is requisite, and also from the prow and stern to make them float well on the sea. The land, in situation, fertility and beauty, is like the other, abounding also in forests filled with various kinds of trees, but not of such fragrance, as it is more northern and colder.

We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove the shrubbery from around them, wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found also wild roses, violets, lilies, and many

sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own. We cannot describe their habitations, as they are in the interior of the country, but from various indications we conclude they must be formed of trees and shrubs. We saw also many grounds for conjecturing that they often sleep in the open air, without any covering but the sky. Of their other usages we know nothing; we believe, however, that all the people we were among live in the same way.

After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbour we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the north-east, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colours. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor, we sailed fifty leagues toward the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the mainland, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your Majesty's illustrious mother.

We did not land there, as the weather was unfavourable, but

proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces; stopping, they looked at the structure of our ship, our persons and dress, afterwards they all raised a loud shout together, signifying that they were pleased. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear. Among them were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described; one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four, and they were dressed in the following manner: The oldest had a deer's skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures, his head was without covering, his hair was tied back in various knots; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colours. The young man was similar in his general appearance. This is the finest looking tribe, and the handsomest in their costumes, that we have found in our voyage. They exceed us in size, and they are of a very fair complexion (?); some of them incline more to a white (bronze?), and others to a tawny colour; their faces are sharp, their hair long and black, upon the adorning of which they bestow great pains; their eyes are black and sharp, their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique. I say nothing to your Majesty of the other parts of the body, which are all in good proportion, and such as belong to well-formed men. Their women are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty; they wear no clothing except a deer skin, ornamented like those worn by the men; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which also hang down upon their breasts on each side. Others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use. The older and the married people, both men and women, wear many ornaments in their ears, hanging down in the oriental manner. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals — yellow being the colour es-

pecially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case of the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them, and one day we entered into the port with our ship, having before rode at the distance of a league from the shore, as the weather was adverse. They came off to the ship with a number of their little boats, with their faces painted in divers colours, showing us real signs of joy, bringing us of their provisions, and signifying to us where we could best ride in safety with our ship, and keeping with us until we had cast anchor. We remained among them fifteen days, to provide ourselves with many things of which we were in want, during which time they came every day to see our ship, bringing with them their wives, of whom they were very careful; for, although they came on board themselves, and remained a long while, they made their wives stay in the boats, nor could we ever get them on board by any entreaties or any presents we could make them. One of the two kings often came with his queen and many attendants, to see us for his amusement; but he always stopped at the distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying they would come and see our ship — this was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us they came off, and remained awhile to look around; but on hearing the annoying cries of the sailors, the king sent the queen, with her attendants, in a very light boat, to wait, near an island a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board, talking with us by signs, and expressing his fanciful notions about every thing in the ship, and asking the use of all. After imitating our modes of salutation, and tasting our food, he courteously took leave of us. Sometimes, when our men stayed two or three days on a small island, near the ship, for their various necessities, as sailors are wont to do, he came with seven or eight of his attendants, to inquire about our movements, often asking us if we intended to remain there long, and offering us everything at his

command, and then he would shoot with his bow, and run up and down with his people, making great sport for us. We often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or oil; there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hindrances, and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous; the trees of which they were composed, were oaks, cypresses, and others, unknown in Europe. We found, also, apples, plumbs, filberts, and many other fruits, but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares, and by bows, the latter being their chief implement; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them, they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones, in the place of iron. They also use the same kind of sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons; their oars are short, and broad at the end, and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security, and as nimbly as they choose. We saw their dwellings, which are of a circular form, of about ten or twelve paces in circumference, made of logs split in halves, without any regularity of architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on, which protect them from wind and rain. There is no doubt that they would build stately edifices if they had workmen as skilful as ours, for the whole sea-coast abounds in shining stones, crystals, and alabaster, and for the same reason it has ports and retreats for animals. They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require; this is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers; in some we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. Their food is pulse, as with the other tribes, which is here better than elsewhere, and more carefully cultivated; in the time of sowing they are governed by the moon, the sprouting of grain, and many other ancient usages. They live by hunting and fishing, and they are long-lived. If they fall sick, they cure themselves without

medicine, by the heat of the fire, and their death at last comes from extreme old age. We judge them to be very affectionate and charitable towards their relatives — making loud lamentations in their adversity, and in their misery calling to mind all their good fortune. At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing, for a long while. This is all that we could learn of them. This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being $41^{\circ} 40'$ of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your Majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbour is half a league broad; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands, of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbour, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance, there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbour.*

Having supplied ourselves with every thing necessary, on the fifth of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight; the nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains were a little higher, and all in appearance rich in minerals. We did not stop to land as the weather was very favorable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east, and fifty leagues beyond more to the north, where we found a more elevated country, full of very thick woods of fir

* The above description applies to Narraganset Bay and the harbour of Newport in Rhode Island, although mistaken by Dr. Miller, in his discourse before this Society, as published in the first volume of the former series of Collections, for the bay and harbour of New-York. The latter are briefly described in a preceding paragraph of this translation, p. 45, with sufficient clearness to admit of their being easily recognized. The island "of a triangular form, resembling the island of Rhodes," which Verrazzano mentions as fifty leagues to the east of New-York, p. 46, is doubtless Block Island.—Ed.

trees, cyresses and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation; the land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffick with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us, not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; they took from us only knives, fish hooks and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men; when we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper ear-rings. Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering north-east, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods, and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Adriatic gulph, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judge that they were similiar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water and determined to return to France, having discovered 502, that is 700 (sic) leagues of unknown lands.

As to the religious faith of all these tribes, not understanding their language, we could not discover either by sign or gestures anything certain. It seemed to us that they had no

religion nor laws, nor any knowledge of a First Cause or Mover, that they worshipped neither the heavens, stars, sun, moon nor other planets; nor could we learn if they were given to any kind of idolatry, or offered any sacrifices or supplications, or if they have temples or houses of prayer in their villages;—our conclusion was, that they have no religious belief whatever, but live in this respect entirely free. All which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship.

It remains for me to lay before your Majesty a cosmographical exposition of our voyage. Taking our departure, as I before observed, from the above mentioned desert rocks, which lie on the extreme verge of the west, as known to the ancients, in the meridian of the Fortunate Islands, and in the latitude of 32 degrees north from the equator, and steering a westward course, we had run, when we first made land, a distance of 1,200 leagues or 4,800 miles, reckoning, according to nautical usage, four miles to a league. This distance calculated geometrically, upon the usual ratio of the diameter to the circumference of the circle, gives 92 degrees; for if we take 114 degrees as the chord of an arc of a great circle, we have by the same ratio 95 deg. as the chord of an arc on the parallel of 34 degrees, being that on which we first made land, and 300 degrees as the circumference of the whole circle, passing through this plane. Allowing then, as actual observations show, that $62\frac{1}{2}$ terrestrial miles correspond to a celestial degree, we find the whole circumference of 300 deg., as just given, to be 18,759 miles, which, divided by 360, makes the length of a degree of longitude in the parallel of 34 degrees to be 52 miles, and that is the true measure. Upon this basis, 1,200 leagues, or 4,800 miles meridional distance, on the parallel of 34, give 92 degrees, and so many therefore have we sailed farther to the west than was known to the ancients. During our voyage we had no lunar eclipses or like celestial phenomenas, we therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments, by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another; all these observations, as also the ebb and flow of the sea in all places, were noted in a little book, which

may prove serviceable to navigators; they are communicated to your Majesty in the hope of promoting science.

My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such an obstacle, as they have proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients, that our oriental Indian ocean is one and without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns and shown to be erroneous by experience; the country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe, together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent, as shall now be briefly explained to your Majesty. The Spaniards have sailed south beyond the equator on a meridian 20 degrees west of the Fortunate Islands to the latitude of 54, and there still found land; turning about they steered northward on the same meridian and along the coast to the eighth degree of latitude near the equator, and thence along the coast more to the west and north-west, to the latitude of 21°, without finding a termination to the continent; they estimated the distance run as 89 degrees, which, added to the 20 first run west of the Canaries, make 109 degrees and so far west; they sailed from the meridian of these islands, but this may vary somewhat from truth; we did not make this voyage and therefore cannot speak from experience; we calculated it geometrically from the observations furnished by many navigators, who have made the voyage and affirm the distance to be 1,600 leagues, due allowance being made for the deviations of the ship from a straight course, by reason of contrary winds. I hope that we shall now obtain certain information on these points, by new voyages to be made on the same coasts. But to return to ourselves; in the voyage which we have made by order of your Majesty, in addition to the 92 degrees we run towards the west from our point of departure, before we reached land in the latitude of 34, we have to count 300 leagues which we ran north-east-wardly, and 400 nearly east along the coast before we reached the 50th parallel of north latitude, the point where we turned our course from the shore towards home. Beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle, without coming to the termination of the land. Thus adding the

degrees of south latitude explored, which are 54, to those of the north, which are 66, the sum is 120, and therefore more than are embraced in the latitude of Africa and Europe, for the north point of Norway, which is the extremity of Europe, is in 71 north, and the Cape of Good Hope, which is the southern extremity of Africa, is in 35 south, and their sum is only 106, and if the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed, who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was less than the water, whereas actual experience proves the reverse, so that we judge in respect to extent of surface the land covers as much space as the water; and I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your Majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking. The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain, is joined to Europe at the north in Norway and Russia, which disproves the idea of the ancients that all this part had been navigated from the Cimbric Chersonesus, eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situate to the east and west of it, which seas in fact do not surround either of the two continents, for as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of 54 extends eastwardly an unknown distance, and that of the northern passing the 66th parallel turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th. In a short time, I hope, we shall have more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your Majesty, whom I pray Almighty God to prosper in lasting glory, that we may see the most important results of this our cosmography in the fulfilment of the holy words of the Gospel.

On board the ship *Dolphin*, in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524.

Your humble servitor,

JOHN DE VERRAZZANO.

Giovanni da Verrazzano, who commanded the first French expedition to America sent out under royal auspices, was, like Columbus, who sailed in the service of Spain, an Italian. He was born in Florence, and was about ten years old when Columbus discovered America. It has been stated, but on doubtful authority, that he commanded one of the ships in Aubert's expedition to America in 1508. In 1521 he appears in history as a French corsair,

preying upon the commerce between Spain and America; and it was probably in this occupation that he gained the notice and favor of Francis I. Late in 1523 he started on his voyage across the Atlantic, in the "Dauphine,"* his object being, as he tells us himself in the cosmographical appendix to his letter, to reach Cathay (China) by a westward route. Of this voyage the famous letter here published is the record. It was in March, 1524, that he discovered the American coast, probably not far from the site of Wilmington in North Carolina. It will be interesting for the student to follow him in his course northward, remembering that he was the first European who explored this part of the coast. "A newe land," he exclaims in his letter, "never before seen of any man, either auncient or moderne." Among the places which he describes, New York Harbor, Block Island (which he named Louisa, in honor of the king's mother), Newport and other places have been identified. He continued along the Maine coast and as far as Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, which fishermen from Brittany had found twenty years before (the name of Cape Breton is a trace of them), thence returning to France. He reached Dieppe early in July, and it is from Dieppe, July 8, 1524, that his letter to the king is dated. It is the earliest description known to exist of the shores of the United States.

There are two copies of Verrazzano's letter, both of them, however, Italian translations, the original letter not being in existence. One was printed by Ramusio in 1556, and this was translated into English by Hakluyt for his *Divers Voyages*, which appeared in 1582. The other was found many years later in the Strozzi Library at Florence, and was first published in 1841 by the New York Historical Society, with a translation by Dr. J. G. Cogswell. This is the translation given in the present leaflet. The cosmographical appendix contained in the second version, and considered by Dr. Asher and other antiquarians a document of great importance, was not contained in the copy printed by Ramusio.

Verrazzano's voyage and letter have been the occasion of much controversy. There are those who believe that he never came to America at all, but that the letter was ingeniously prepared in France, with the connivance of the king, as the basis of a claim to American territory. Mr. Henry C. Murphy has been the ablest objector to the genuineness of Verrazzano's letter and voyage. See his book on *The Voyage of Verrazzano*, which affected Mr. Bancroft so deeply that he has left out all mention of Verrazzano in the revised edition of his *History of the United States*. The entire contro-

*The *Delfina* was the name of Verrazzano's ship. Both Hakluyt and Dr. Cogswell render this by the word *Dolphin*. This is not correct. The Italian for dolphin is *delfino*, which also signifies the dauphin, or oldest son of the king of France, so called because upon the cession of Dauphiny to the crown of France, he became entitled to wear the armorial device of the princes of that province, which was a dolphin. *Dauphine* is the feminine term.

versy is reviewed most ably by Justin Winsor, in the fourth volume of the new *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and he shows the utter insufficiency of Murphy's objections. This review should be carefully read by the student. See also De Costa's *Verrazzano the Explorer*, containing an exhaustive bibliography of the subject, Prof. Geo. W. Greene's essay on Verrazzano in the *North American Review* for October, 1837, etc.

The fourth volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America* bears the sub-title of *French Explorations and Settlements in North America*, to which subject almost the entire volume is devoted. It is an inexhaustible mine of information, to which the more careful student should constantly go in connection with almost all of the lectures on *America and France*. There is a chapter devoted to Jacques Cartier, the next important Frenchman in America, and very much about Champlain. Verrazzano, Cartier and Champlain are also all most interestingly treated by Parkman, in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*. Champlain's own writings, which have been carefully edited by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, should be consulted.

The eight lectures in the course on *America and France* are as follows :

Champlain, the Founder of Quebec ; La Salle and the French in the Great West ; The Jesuit Missionaries in America ; Wolfe and Montcalm — the Struggle of England and France for the Continent ; Franklin in France ; The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette ; Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase ; The Year 1789.

In connection with these eight subjects we here recommend to the young people the following eight books. Any boy or girl who carefully reads these eight books will well understand the general historical relations of America and France. — Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World* ; Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* ; Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America* ; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* ; Edward Everett Hale's *Franklin in France* ; Henry Cabot Lodge's *Life of Washington* ; Morse's *Life of Jefferson* ; Mignet's *History of the French Revolution*. The Old South leaflet on the French Revolution (No. 8, in the series for 1888), with its references to books, will also be found useful.

The subjects proposed for the Old South essays for 1889 are the following: *I. French Influence on American Political Thought during the Period of the American and French Revolutions. II. Washington's Interest in Education. Discuss especially his project of a National University.* The competition for the Old South prizes is open to all graduates of 1888 and 1889 from the various Boston high schools. The first prizes are forty dollars ; the second prizes, twenty-five dollars. Circulars with full information may be had at the Old South Meeting House.



Old South Leaflets.

SEVENTH SERIES, 1889.

No. 2.

Joliet and Marquette on the Mississippi.

FROM MARQUETTE'S "ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF
SOME NEW COUNTRIES AND NATIONS IN
NORTH AMERICA," 1673.

I embarked with M. Joliet, who had been chosen to conduct this enterprise, on the 13th May, 1673, with five other Frenchmen, in two bark canoes. We laid in some Indian corn and smoked beef for our voyage. We first took care, however, to draw from the Indians all the information we could, concerning the countries through which we designed to travel, and drew up a map, on which we marked down the rivers, nations, and points of the compass to guide us in our journey. The first nation we came to was called the Folles-Avoines, or the *nation of wild oats*. I entered their river to visit them, as I had preached among them some years before. The wild oats, from which they derive their name, grow spontaneously in their country. They grow in marshy ground, and are not unlike our European oats. The grain is not thicker than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more meal. It makes its appearance in June and does not ripen until September. In this month the Indians go to shake the grain off the ears in their canoes, which easily falls if it be ripe, and which afterwards serves them for food. They dry it over a fire, then pack it away in a kind of sack made of the skins of animals, and having made a hole in the ground they put the sacks therein, and tread upon it until the chaff is separated from the grain, and then winnow it. Afterwards they pound it in a mortar to reduce it into meal; they then boil it in water, and season it with grease, which makes it very palatable.

I acquainted them with my design of discovering other

nations, to preach to them the mysteries of our holy religion, at which they were much surprised, and said all they could to dissuade me from it. They told me I would meet with Indians who spare no strangers, and whom they kill without any provocation or mercy; that the war they have one with the other would expose me to be taken by their warriors, as they are constantly on the look-out to surprise their enemies. That the Great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of frightful monsters who devoured men and canoes together, and that the heat was so great that it would positively cause our death. I thanked them for their kind advice, but told them I would not follow it, as the salvation of a great many souls was concerned in our undertaking, for whom I should be glad to lose my life. I added that I defied their monsters, and their information would oblige us to keep more upon our guard to avoid a surprise. And having prayed with them, and given them some instructions, we set out for the Bay of Puan (Green Bay), where our missionaries had been successful in converting them. The name they give to this bay is preferable in the Indian language to ours; for, according to the word they make use of, it signifies *Salt Bay*. It is the name they give to the sea. This obliged us to inquire whether there were any salt springs in their country, as among the *Iroquois*, but they could not tell us of any.

This bay (Green Bay) is about thirty leagues long, and eight broad in the greatest breadth; for it grows narrower and forms a cone at the extremity. It has tides that flow and ebb as regular as the sea. We left this bay to go into a river (Fox River) that discharges itself therein, and found its mouth very broad and deep. It flows very gently, but after we had advanced some leagues into it we found it difficult to navigate, on account of the rocks and the currents; we fortunately overcame all these difficulties. It abounds in bustards, ducks, and other birds, which are attracted there by the wild oats, of which they are very fond. We next came to a village of the Maskoutens, or nation of fire. Here I had the curiosity to taste some mineral water which came from a spring on the banks of the river, and to examine a plant which the Indians had told Father Allouez was a specific for the bite of snakes. The root of this plant is very hot, and tastes like gunpowder; they chew it, and apply it to the part of the body that has been stung. This cures the wound. The snakes have such an antipathy to this plant, that they run away from a man who has his body rubbed with it. It has several stalks about a foot in length; the leaves are

somewhat long; the flower is white, and the whole looks like our gilliflower. I put one into our canoe to examine it at my leisure.

The French have never before passed beyond the Bay of Puan (Green Bay). This *Bourg* consists of three several nations, viz., Miamies, Maskoutens, and Kickapoos. The first are more docile than the others, better formed, and more liberal. They wear long hair over their ears, which gives them a good appearance. They are esteemed good warriors, and so cunning that they never return from their warlike excursions without booty. They are quick to learn anything. Father Allouez told me that they were so desirous to be instructed that they would never give him any rest at night. The Maskoutens and Kickapoos are more robust, and resemble our peasants more than the former. As the bark of the birch tree is scarce in this country, they are obliged to make their wigwams with rushes, which serve as well for covering them as for walls. It must be owned that they are convenient, for they take them down and carry them wherever they please, without any trouble.

When I arrived there I was very glad to see a great cross, set up in the middle of the village, adorned with several white skins, red girdles, bows and arrows, which the converted Indians had offered to the great Manitou, to return him their thanks for the care he had taken of them during the winter, and granting them a prosperous hunting. Manitou is the name they give in general to all spirits whom they think to be above the nature of man. I took pleasure in looking at this *bourg*. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, from whence we look over an extensive prairie, interspersed with groves of trees. The soil is very fertile, and produces large crops of corn. The Indians also gather large quantities of grapes and plums. As soon as we had arrived we assembled the chiefs together, and informed them that we had been sent by our governor to discover new countries, and teach them the knowledge of their Creator, who being absolute master of all his creatures will have all nations to know him, and that therefore to comply with his will we did not value our lives, and were willing to subject ourselves to every kind of danger, adding that we wished them to furnish us with two guides, and enforced our request with some presents, which were kindly accepted by them, in return for which they gave us mats, with which we made our beds during the voyage. They also furnished us with two guides to accompany us for some days.

The next day, being the 10th of June, the two guides (*Miamies*) embarked with us in sight of all the village, who were astonished at our attempting so dangerous an expedition. We were informed that at three leagues from the *Maskoutens*, we should find a river which runs into the Mississippi, and that we were to go to the west-south-west to find it, but there were so many marshes and lakes, that if it had not been for our guides we could not have found it. The river upon which we rowed and had to carry our canoes from one to the other, looked more like a corn-field than a river, insomuch that we could hardly find its channel. As our guides had been frequently at this portage, they knew the way, and helped us to carry our canoes overland into the other river, distant about two miles and a half; from whence they returned home, leaving us in an unknown country, having nothing to rely upon but Divine Providence. We now left the waters which extend to Quebec, about five or six hundred leagues, to take those which would lead us hereafter into strange lands.

Before embarking we all offered up prayers to the Holy Virgin, which we continued to do every morning, placing ourselves and the events of the journey under her protection, and after having encouraged each other, we got into our canoes. The river upon which we embarked is called Mesconsin (*Wisconsin*); the river is very wide, but the sand bars make it very difficult to navigate, which is increased by numerous islands covered with grape vines. The country through which it flows is beautiful; the groves are so dispersed in the prairies that it makes a noble prospect; and the fruit of the trees shows a fertile soil. These groves are full of walnut, oak, and other trees unknown to us in Europe. We saw neither game nor fish, but roebuck and buffaloes in great numbers. After having navigated thirty leagues we discovered some iron mines, and one of our company who had seen such mines before, said these were very rich in ore. They are covered with about three feet of soil, and situate near a chain of rocks, whose base is covered with fine timber. After having rode ten leagues further, making forty leagues from the place where we had embarked, we came into the Mississippi on the 17th June (1673).

The mouth of the Mesconsin (*Wisconsin*) is in about $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat. Behold us, then, upon this celebrated river, whose singularities I have attentively studied. The Mississippi takes its rise in several lakes in the North. Its channel is very narrow at the mouth of the Mesconsin, and runs south until it is

affected by very high hills. Its current is slow, because of its depth. In sounding we found nineteen fathoms of water. A little further on it widens nearly three-quarters of a league, and the width continues to be more equal. We slowly followed its course to the south and south-east to the 42° N. lat. Here we perceived the country change its appearance. There were scarcely any more woods or mountains. The islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans. We met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes, that at first we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us. We saw also a hideous monster; his head was like that of a tiger, his nose was sharp, and somewhat resembled a wildcat; his beard was long; his ears stood upright; the color of his head was gray; and his neck black. He looked upon us for some time, but as we came near him our oars frightened him away. When we threw our nets into the water we caught an abundance of sturgeons, and another kind of fish like our trout, except that the eyes and nose are much smaller, and they have near the nose a bone like a woman's busk, three inches broad and a foot and a half long, the end of which is flat and broad, and when it leaps out of the water the weight of it throws it on its back.

Having descended the river as far as $41^{\circ} 28'$, we found that turkeys took the place of game, and the Pisikious that of other animals. We called the Pisikious wild buffaloes, because they very much resemble our domestic oxen; they are not so long, but twice as large. We shot one of them, and it was as much as thirteen men could do to drag him from the place where he fell. They have an enormous head, their forehead is broad and flat, and their horns, between which there is at least a foot and a half distance, are all black and much longer than our European oxen. They have a hump on the back, and their head, breast, and a part of the shoulders are covered with long hair. They have in the middle of their forehead an ugly tuft of long hair, which, falling down over their eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look hideous. The rest of the body is covered with curled hair, or rather wool like our sheep, but much thicker and stronger. They shed their hair in summer, and their skin is as soft as velvet, leaving nothing but a short down. The Indians use their skins for cloaks, which they paint with figures of several colors. Their flesh and fat is excellent, and the best dish of the Indians, who kill a great many of them.

They are very fierce and dangerous, and if they can hook a man with their horns, they toss him up and then tread upon him. The Indians hide themselves when they shoot at them, otherwise they would be in great danger of losing their lives. They follow them at great distances till, by loss of blood, they are unable to hurt or defend themselves. They graze upon the banks of rivers, and I have seen four hundred in a herd together.

We continued to descend the river, not knowing where we were going, and having made an hundred leagues without seeing anything but wild beasts and birds, and being on our guard we landed at night to make our fire and prepare our repast, and then left the shore to anchor in the river, while one of us watched by turns to prevent a surprise. We went south and south-west until we found ourselves in about the latitude of 40° and some minutes, having rowed more than sixty leagues since we entered the river. On the 25th June we went ashore, and found some traces of men upon the sand, and a path which led into a large prairie. We judged it led to an Indian village, and concluded to examine it. We therefore left our canoes in charge of our men, while M. Joliet and I went to explore it; a bold undertaking for two men in a savage country. We followed this little path in silence about two leagues, when we discovered a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a hill about half a league from the first. We now commended ourselves to God, and having implored his help, we came so near to the Indians that we could hear them talk. We now thought it time to make ourselves known to them by screaming aloud. At the sound of our voices, the Indians left their huts, and probably taking us for Frenchmen, one of us having a black robe on, and seeing but two of us, and being warned of our arrival, they sent four old men to speak to us, two of whom brought pipes, ornamented with different colored feathers. They marched slowly, without saying a word, but presenting their pipes to the sun, as if they wished it to smoke them.

They were a long time coming from their village, but as soon as they came near, they halted to take a view of us, and seeing the ceremonies they performed, and especially seeing them covered with cloth, we judged that they were our allies. I then spoke to them, and they said that they were Illinois, and as a sign of friendship they presented us their pipes to smoke. They invited us to their village, where all the people had impatiently waited for us. These pipes are called by the

Indians calumets, and as this word is so common among them, I shall make use of it in future, when I want to speak of pipes. At the door of the cabin in which we were to be received, we found an old man in a very remarkable posture, which is the usual ceremony in receiving strangers. He was standing up, all naked, with his hands lifted up to Heaven, as if he wished to screen himself from the rays of the sun, which nevertheless passed through his fingers to his face. When we came near to him, he said, "What a fair day, Frenchmen, this is to come to visit us! All our people have waited for thee, and thou shalt enter our cabin in peace." He then took us into his, where there were a crowd of people who devoured us with their eyes, but who kept a profound silence. We only occasionally heard these words in a low voice, "These are our brothers who have come to see us."

In June, 1541, the Mississippi river was discovered by Ferdinand de Soto, probably at the lowest Chickasaw Bluff, twenty or thirty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas river; and during the year, he may have explored the river as far north as the Missouri. The next May, he died upon its banks. "His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grieving for their loss; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place."

It was 132 years after the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto before Europeans again floated on its waters — again in the month of June, but far to the north. These new discoverers were Frenchmen, Louis Joliet and Father James Marquette. Joliet, who was born at Quebec in 1645 and educated in the Jesuit college there, was charged by Frontenac, the governor of Canada or New France, with the enterprise of finding the Mississippi — as being, wrote Frontenac, "a man very experienced in these kinds of discoveries, and who had been already very near this river." A single assistant and a bark canoe were all the aid which the government gave him. He reached the Straits of Mackinaw Dec. 8, 1672, and there spent the winter with Father Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, who, driven with his Huron flock from the head of Lake Superior by the Sioux, had founded the mission of St. Ignace and built a church more than a year before. Marquette had already heard of the Mississippi from the Illinois Indians, and during the winter Joliet questioned Indians who had seen the

river as to its course and the tribes on its shores. Thirty years before, Nicolet had explored Wisconsin waters which flowed into the *Great Water*; and so much had become known of the Mississippi when Father Dablon published the *Relations of 1670-'71*, with a map of Lake Superior, that he alludes to the Mississippi, in his description of the map, as follows: "To the south flows the great river, which they call the Mississippi, which can have its mouth only in the Florida sea, more than four hundred leagues from here." Joliet and Marquette drew up a rude map of the river from such information as they had; and Marquette, who eagerly embraced the opportunity to accompany Joliet, entered in his note-book many facts of possible value. "We took all possible precautions," he says, "that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be fool-hardy." On May 17, 1673, with five *voyageurs* and two birch-bark canoes, they set out. It is from Marquette's own story of the voyage and discovery that the passage given in the present leaflet is taken. The entire story, of which not quite half is here given, and which proceeds to recount their voyage as far south as the Arkansas river and their return by the Illinois river to the present site of Chicago on Lake Michigan, will presently be added to the *general series* of Old South Leaflets. It may be found in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, together with a fac-simile of the interesting map drawn by Father Marquette at the time. It may also be found in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part ii, (1850). Mr. Shea's book gives a biography of Marquette, containing valuable extracts from his accounts of his missionary work among the Indians by Lake Superior, and also translations of many important original papers illustrating the careers in the West of Father Dablon, Father Allouez, Father Hennepin, and that most ambitious and adventurous of all the Frenchmen in the great West, La Salle. There are lives of both La Salle and Marquette, by Sparks. Mr. Winsor's chapter on "Joliet, Marquette and La Salle," in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, is invaluable for its bibliographical references. But here, too, Parkman is still the popular writer. His *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* contains a special chapter (chap. v) on Joliet and Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi.



Old South Leaflets.

SEVENTH SERIES, 1889.

No. 3.

Mr. Parkman's Histories.

CHAMPLAIN ON THE COAST OF NEW ENGLAND.

Weary of St. Croix, De Monts resolved to seek out a more auspicious site, on which to rear the capital of his wilderness dominion. During the preceding September, Champlain had ranged the westward coast in a pinnace, visited and named the island of Mount Desert, and entered the mouth of the river Penobscot, called by him the Pemetigoet, or Pentegoet, and previously known to fur-traders and fishermen as the Norem-bega, a name which it shared with all the adjacent region.¹ Now, embarking a second time, in a bark of fifteen tons, with De Monts, several gentlemen, twenty sailors, and an Indian with his squaw, he set forth on the eighteenth of June (1605) on a second voyage of discovery. They coasted the strangely indented shores of Maine, with its reefs and surf-washed islands, rocky headlands, and deep embosomed bays, passed Mount Desert and the Penobscot, explored the mouths of the Kennebec, crossed Casco Bay, and descried the distant peaks of the White Mountains. The ninth of July brought them to Saco Bay. They were now within the limits of a group of tribes who were called by the French the Armouchiquois, and who included those whom the English afterwards called the Massachusetts. They differed in habits as well as in language from the Etechemins and Micmacs of Acadia, for they were tillers of the soil, and around their wigwams were fields of maize, beans, pump-

¹ The earliest maps and narratives indicate a city, also called Norem-bega, on the banks of the Penobscot. The pilot, Jean Alphonse, of Saintonge, says that this fabulous city is fifteen or twenty leagues from the sea, and that its inhabitants are of small stature and dark complexion. As late as 1607 the fable was repeated in the *Histoire Universelle des Indes Occidentales*.

kins, squashes, tobacco, and the so-called Jerusalem artichoke. Near Prout's Neck, more than eighty of them ran down to the shore to meet the strangers, dancing and yelping to show their joy. They had a fort of palisades on a rising ground by the Saco, for they were at deadly war with their neighbors towards the east.

On the twelfth, the French resumed their voyage, and, like some adventurous party of pleasure, held their course by the beaches of York and Wells, Portsmouth Harbor, the Isles of Shoals, Rye Beach and Hampton Beach, till, on the fifteenth, they descried the dim outline of Cape Ann. Champlain called it Cap aux Isles, from the three adjacent islands, and in a subsequent voyage he gave the name of Beauport to the neighboring harbor of Gloucester. Thence steering southward and westward, they entered Massachusetts Bay, gave the name of Rivière du Guast to a river flowing into it, probably the Charles; passed the islands of Boston Harbor, which Champlain describes as covered with trees, and were met on the way by great numbers of canoes filled with astonished Indians. On Sunday, the seventeenth, they passed Point Allerton and Nantasket Beach, coasted the shores of Cohasset, Scituate, and Marshfield, and anchored for the night near Brant Point. On the morning of the eighteenth, a head wind forced them to take shelter in Port St. Louis, for so they called the harbor of Plymouth, where the Pilgrims made their memorable landing fifteen years later. Indian wigwams and garden patches lined the shore. A troop of the inhabitants came down to the beach and danced, while others, who had been fishing, approached in their canoes, came on board the vessel, and showed Champlain their fish-hooks, consisting of a barbed bone lashed at an acute angle to a slip of wood.

From Plymouth the party circled round the bay, doubled Cape Cod, called by Champlain Cap Blanc, from its glistening white sands, and steered southward to Nausett Harbor, which, by reason of its shoals and sand-bars, they named Port Malle-barre. Here their prosperity deserted them. A party of sailors went behind the sand-banks to find fresh water at a spring, when an Indian snatched a kettle from one of them, and its owner, pursuing, fell, pierced with arrows by the robber's comrades. The French in the vessel opened fire. Champlain's arquebuse burst, and was near killing him, while the Indians, swift as deer, quickly gained the woods. Several of the tribe chanced to be on board the vessel, but flung themselves with

such alacrity into the water that only one was caught. They bound him hand and foot, but soon after humanely set him at liberty.

Champlain, who we are told "delighted marvellously in these enterprises," had busied himself throughout the voyage with taking observations, making charts, and studying the wonders of land and sea. The "horse-foot crab" seems to have awakened his special curiosity, and he describes it with amusing exactness. Of the human tenants of the New England coast he has also left the first precise and trustworthy account. They were clearly more numerous than when the Puritans landed at Plymouth, since in the interval a pestilence made great havoc among them. But Champlain's most conspicuous merit lies in the light that he threw into the dark places of American geography, and the order that he brought out of the chaos of American cartography, for it was a result of this and the rest of his voyages that precision and clearness began at last to supplant the vagueness, confusion, and contradiction of the earlier map-makers. — From *The Pioneers of France in the New World*.

LA SALLE AND FRONTENAC.

We turn from the humble Marquette, thanking God with his last breath that he died for his Order and his Faith; and by our side stands the masculine form of Cavalier de la Salle. Prodigious was the contrast between the two discoverers: the one, with clasped hands and upturned eyes, seems a figure evoked from some dim legend of mediæval saintship; the other, with feet firm planted on the hard earth, breathes the self-relying energies of modern practical enterprise. Nevertheless, La Salle's enemies called him a visionary. His projects perplexed and startled them. At first, they ridiculed him; and then, as step by step he advanced towards his purpose, they denounced and maligned him. What was this purpose? It was not of sudden growth, but developed as years went on. La Salle at La Chine dreamed of a western passage to China, and nursed vague schemes of western discovery. Then, when his earlier journeyings revealed to him the valley of the Ohio and the fertile plains of Illinois, his imagination took wing over the boundless prairies and forests drained by the great river of the West. His ambition had found its field. He would leave

barren and frozen Canada behind, and lead France and civilization into the valley of the Mississippi. Neither the English nor the Jesuits should conquer that rich domain : the one must rest content with the country east of the Alleghanies, and the other with the forests, savages, and beaver-skins of the northern lakes. It was for him to call into light the latent riches of the great West. But the way to his land of promise was rough and long : it lay through Canada, filled with hostile traders and hostile priests, and barred by ice for half the year. The difficulty was soon solved. La Salle became convinced that the Mississippi flowed, not into the Pacific or the Gulf of California, but into the Gulf of Mexico. By a fortified post at its mouth, he could guard it against both English and Spaniards, and secure for the trade of the interior an access and an outlet under his own control, and open at every season. Of this trade, the hides of the buffalo would at first form the staple ; and, along with furs, would reward the enterprise till other resources should be developed.

Such were the vast projects that unfolded themselves in the mind of La Salle. Canada must needs be, at the outset, his base of action, and without the support of its authorities he could do nothing. This support he found. From the moment when Count Frontenac assumed the government of the colony, he seems to have looked with favor on the young discoverer. There were points of likeness between the two men. Both were ardent, bold, and enterprising. The irascible and fiery pride of the noble found its match in the reserved and seemingly cold pride of the ambitious burgher. Each could comprehend the other ; and they had, moreover, strong prejudices and dislikes in common. An understanding, not to say an alliance, soon grew up between them.

Frontenac had come to Canada a ruined man. He was ostentatious, lavish, and in no way disposed to let slip an opportunity of mending his fortune. He presently thought that he had found a plan by which he could serve both the colony and himself. His predecessor, Courcelle, had urged upon the king the expediency of building a fort on Lake Ontario, in order to hold the Iroquois in check and intercept the trade which the tribes of the Upper Lakes had begun to carry on with the Dutch and English of New York. Thus, a stream of wealth would be turned into Canada, which would otherwise enrich her enemies. Here, to all appearance, was a great *public good*, and from the military point of view it was so in

fact; but it was clear that the trade thus secured might be made to profit, not the colony at large, but those alone who had control of the fort, which would then become the instrument of a monopoly. This the governor understood; and, without doubt, he meant that the projected establishment should pay him tribute. How far he and La Salle were acting in concurrence at this time, it is not easy to say; but Frontenac often took counsel of the explorer, who, on his part, saw in the design a possible first step towards the accomplishment of his own far-reaching schemes. — From *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*.

THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN CANADA.

Canada was a true child of the Church, baptized in infancy and faithful to the last. Champlain, the founder of Quebec, a man of noble spirit, a statesman and a soldier, was deeply imbued with fervid piety. "The saving of a soul," he would often say, "is worth more than the conquest of an empire;" and to forward the work of conversion, he brought with him four Franciscan monks from France. At a later period, the task of colonization would have been abandoned, but for the hope of casting the pure light of the faith over the gloomy wastes of heathendom. All France was filled with the zeal of proselytism. Men and women of exalted rank lent their countenance to the holy work. From many an altar daily petitions were offered for the well-being of the mission; and in the Holy House of Mont-Martre, a nun lay prostrate day and night before the shrine, praying for the conversion of Canada. In one convent, thirty nuns offered themselves for the labors of the wilderness; and priests flocked in crowds to the colony. The powers of darkness took alarm; and when a ship, freighted with the apostles of the faith, was tempest-tost upon her voyage, the storm was ascribed to the malice of demons, trembling for the safety of their ancient empire.

The general enthusiasm was not without its fruits. The Church could pay back with usury all that she received of aid and encouragement from the temporal power; and the ambition of Richelieu could not have devised a more efficient enginery for the accomplishment of its schemes, than that supplied by the zeal of the devoted propagandists. The priest and the soldier went hand in hand; and the cross and the fleur de lis were planted side by side.

Foremost among the envoys of the faith were the members of that mighty order, who, in another hemisphere, had already done so much to turn back the advancing tide of religious freedom, and strengthen the arm of Rome. To the Jesuits was assigned, for many years, the entire charge of the Canadian missions, to the exclusion of the Franciscans, early laborers in the same barren field. Inspired with a self-devoting zeal to snatch souls from perdition, and win new empires to the cross, casting from them every hope of earthly pleasure or earthly aggrandizement, the Jesuit fathers buried themselves in deserts, facing death with the courage of heroes, and enduring torments with the constancy of martyrs. Their story is replete with marvels — miracles of patient suffering and daring enterprise. They were the pioneers of Northern America. We see them among the frozen forests of Acadia, struggling on snowshoes, with some wandering Algonquin horde, or crouching in the crowded hunting-lodge, half stifled in the smoky den, and battling with troops of famished dogs for the last morsel of sustenance. Again we see the black-robed priest wading among the white rapids of the Ottawa, toiling with his savage comrades to drag the canoe against the headlong water. Again, radiant in the vestments of his priestly office, he administers the sacramental bread to kneeling crowds of plumed and painted proselytes in the forests of the Hurons; or, bearing his life in his hand, carries his sacred mission into the strongholds of the Iroquois, like one who invades unarmed a den of angry tigers. Jesuit explorers traced the St. Lawrence to its source, and said masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior, where the boldest fur-trader scarcely dared to follow. They planted missions at St. Mary's and at Michillimackinac; and one of their fraternity, the illustrious Marquette, discovered the Mississippi, and opened a new theatre to the boundless ambition of France. — From *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*.

CANADIAN FEUDALISM.

At the base of Canadian society was the feudal tenure. European feudalism was the indigenous and natural growth of political and social conditions which preceded it. Canadian feudalism was an offshoot of the feudalism of France, modified by the lapse of centuries, and further modified by the royal will.

In France, as in the rest of Europe, the system had lost its vitality. The warrior-nobles who placed Hugh Capet on the throne, and began the feudal monarchy, formed an aristocratic republic, and the king was one of their number, whom they chose to be their chief. But, through the struggles and vicissitudes of many succeeding reigns, royalty had waxed and oligarchy had waned. The fact had changed and the theory had changed with it. The king, once powerless among a host of turbulent nobles, was now a king indeed. Once a chief, because his equals had made him so, he was now the anointed of the Lord. This triumph of royalty had culminated in Louis XIV. The stormy energies and bold individualism of the old feudal nobles had ceased to exist. They who had held his predecessors in awe had become his obsequious servants. He no longer feared his nobles; he prized them as gorgeous decorations of his court, and satellites of his royal person.

It was Richelieu who first planted feudalism in Canada. The king would preserve it there, because with its teeth drawn he was fond of it, and because, as the feudal tenure prevailed in Old France, it was natural that it should prevail also in the New. But he continued as Richelieu had begun, and moulded it to the form that pleased him. Nothing was left which could threaten his absolute and undivided authority over the colony. In France, a multitude of privileges and prescriptions still clung, despite its fall, about the ancient ruling class. Few of these were allowed to cross the Atlantic, while the old, lingering abuses, which had made the system odious, were at the same time lopped away. Thus retrenched, Canadian feudalism was made to serve a double end; to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy, and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers.—From *The Old Régime in Canada*.

THE STRUGGLE OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE FOR AMERICA.

It is the nature of great events to obscure the great events that came before them. The Seven Years War in Europe is seen but dimly through revolutionary convulsions and Napoleonic tempests; and the same contest in America is half lost to sight behind the storm-cloud of the War of Independence. Few at this day see the momentous issues involved in it, or the

greatness of the danger that it averted. The strife that armed all the civilized world began here. "Such was the complication of political interests," says Voltaire, "that a cannon-shot fired in America could give the signal that set Europe in a blaze." Not quite. It was not a cannon-shot, but a volley from the hunting-pieces of a few backwoodsmen, commanded by a Virginian youth, George Washington.

To us of this day, the result of the American part of the war seems a foregone conclusion. It was far from being so; and very far from being so regarded by our forefathers. The numerical superiority of the British colonies was offset by organic weaknesses fatal to vigorous and united action. Nor at the outset did they, or the mother-country, aim at conquering Canada, but only at pushing back her boundaries. Canada — using the name in its restricted sense — was a position of great strength; and even when her dependencies were overcome, she could hold her own against forces far superior. Armies could reach her only by three routes, — the Lower St. Lawrence on the east, the Upper St. Lawrence on the west, and Lake Champlain on the south. The first access was guarded by a fortress almost impregnable by nature, and the second by a long chain of dangerous rapids; while the third offered a series of points easy to defend. During this same war, Frederic of Prussia held his ground triumphantly against greater odds, though his kingdom was open on all sides to attack.

It was the fatuity of Louis XV. and his Pompadour that made the conquest of Canada possible. Had they not broken the traditionary policy of France, allied themselves to Austria, her ancient enemy, and plunged needlessly into the European war, the whole force of the kingdom would have been turned, from the first, to the humbling of England and the defence of the French colonies. The French soldiers left dead on inglorious Continental battle-fields could have saved Canada, and perhaps made good her claim to the vast territories of the West.

But there were other contingencies. The possession of Canada was a question of diplomacy as well as of war. If England conquered her, she might restore her, as she had lately restored Cape Breton. She had an interest in keeping France alive on the American continent. More than one clear eye saw, at the middle of the last century, that the subjection of Canada would lead to a revolt of the British colonies. So long as an active and enterprising enemy threatened their borders, *they could not break with the mother-country, because they*

needed her help. And if the arms of France had prospered in the other hemisphere; if she had gained in Europe or Asia territories with which to buy back what she had lost in America, then, in all likelihood, Canada would have passed again into her hands.

The most momentous and far-reaching question ever brought to issue on this continent was: Shall France remain here, or shall she not? If, by diplomacy or war, she had preserved but the half, or less than the half, of her American possessions, then a barrier would have been set to the spread of the English-speaking races; there would have been no Revolutionary War; and for a long time, at least, no independence. It was not a question of scanty populations strung along the banks of the St. Lawrence; it was — or under a government of any worth it would have been — a question of the armies and generals of France. America owes much to the imbecility of Louis XV. and the ambitious vanity and personal dislikes of his mistress.

The Seven Years War made England what she is. It crippled the commerce of her rival, ruined France in two continents, and blighted her as a colonial power. It gave England the control of the seas and the mastery of North America and India, made her the first of commercial nations, and prepared that vast colonial system that has planted new Englands in every quarter of the globe. And while it made England what she is, it supplied to the United States the indispensable condition of their greatness, if not of their national existence. — From *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

At the present time, when we are engaged in the study of those subjects in our American history which are related to the history of France or into which the French element enters, we are made to realize anew our great and peculiar obligations to Francis Parkman. In our studies of the earlier period, it is always his books which are our principal companions. Champlain, La Salle, the Jesuits, Wolfe and Montcalm — whoever it may be that we are studying, in that old Canadian and Western life, Parkman is our constant and best guide. It is a period of history which he has made his own, and with which his name will be always connected. In his treatment of it, through the long row of volumes that stand on the shelf, he has brought to the work almost every quality which goes to constitute the good historian — thorough scholarship, indefatigable industry, a philosophic comprehension of his subject in all its bearings, a contagious enthusiasm, a vital

imagination, and rare literary power. His series of works on *France and England in North America* holds a place in our historical literature which is unique. No work which has been done in our history has a higher value.

At the age of eighteen, as he tells us himself in the preface to *Frontenac* — he was born in Boston in 1823, and has always lived in Boston — Parkman formed the purpose of writing on French-American history. "I meant at first," he says, "to limit myself to the great contest which brought that history to a close. It was by an after thought that the plan was extended to cover the whole field, so that the part of the work, or series of works, first conceived would, following the sequence of events, be the last executed." The material for the volumes on *Montcalm and Wolfe*, the last volumes published, was the material which he first began to collect. The work first published was that on *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, belonging to the period after the French War, in 1851. The succeeding volumes have appeared in the following order: *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, 1865; *The Jesuits in North America*, 1867; *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 1869; *The Old Régime in Canada*, 1874; *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, 1877; *Montcalm and Wolfe*, to which he proposed at one time to give the sub-title of *The Fall of New France*, in 1884. *The Oregon Trail*, the record of "a summer's adventures of two youths just out of college" and bearing no relation to the general historical series on *France and England in North America*, first appeared as a series of sketches in the *Kuickerbocker Magazine*, in 1847. The adventures recorded in these sketches did, however, take Parkman and his companion to the Rocky Mountains and among the Indians, and undoubtedly affected his imagination and added to his knowledge in ways that made them a distinct preparation for his great historical work, as indeed he himself lets us understand by a word in the preface to *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*. The following picturesque passage from the preface which he supplied to *The Oregon Trail* in 1872 is of interest in this connection:

"I remember that, as we rode by the foot of Pike's Peak, when for a fortnight we met no face of man, my companion remarked, in a tone any thing but complacent, that a time would come when those plains would be a grazing country, the buffalo give place to tame cattle, farm-houses be scattered along the water-courses, and wolves, bears, and Indians be numbered among the things that were. We consoled with each other on so melancholy a prospect, but we little thought what the future had in store. We knew that there was more or less gold in the seams of those untrodden mountains; but we did not foresee that it would build cities in the waste and plant hotels and gambling-houses among the haunts of the grizzly bear. We knew that a few fanatical outcasts were groping their way across the plains to seek an asylum from gentile persecution; but we did not imagine that the polygamous hordes of Mormon would rear a swarming Jerusalem in the bosom of solitude itself. We knew that, more and more, year after year, the trains of emigrant wagons would creep in slow procession towards barbarous Oregon or wild and distant California; but we did not dream how

Commerce and Gold would breed nations along the Pacific, the disenchanting screech of the locomotive break the spell of weird mysterious mountains, woman's rights invade the fastnesses of the Arapahoës, and despairing savagery, assailed in front and rear, veil its scalp-locks and feathers before triumphant commonplace. We were no prophets to foresee all this; and, had we foreseen it, perhaps some perverse regrets might have tempered the ardor of our rejoicing. The wild cavalcade that defiled with me down the gorges of the Black Hills, with its paint and war-plumes, fluttering trophies and savage embroidery, bows, arrows, lances, and shields, will never be seen again. Those who formed it have found bloody graves, or a ghastlier burial in the maws of wolves. The Indian of today, armed with a revolver and crowned with an old hat; cased, possibly, in trousers or muffled in a tawdry shirt, is an Indian still, but an Indian shorn of the picturesqueness which was his most conspicuous merit. The mountain trapper is no more, and the grim romance of his wild, hard life is a memory of the past."

In the introductions to several of his volumes Mr. Parkman has incidentally revealed to us his aims and methods, in passages so interesting and so valuable to the historical student that a few passages may here be cited. His aim, he tells us, in the introduction to *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, "was, while scrupulously and rigorously adhering to the truth of facts, to animate them with the life of the past and, so far as might be, clothe the skeleton with flesh. If," he says, "at times it may seem that range has been allowed to fancy, it is so in appearance only; since the minutest details of narrative or description rest on authentic documents or on personal observation. Faithfulness to the truth of history involves far more than a research, however patient and scrupulous, into special facts. Such facts may be detailed with the most minute exactness, and yet the narrative, taken as a whole, may be unmeaning or untrue. The narrator must seek to imbue himself with the life and spirit of the time. He must study events in their bearings near and remote; in the character, habits, and manners of those who took part in them. He must himself be, as it were, a sharer or a spectator of the action he describes."

Equally interesting is this passage from the preface to *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, written fourteen years earlier, in 1851:

"It is evident that other study than that of the closet is indispensable to success in such an attempt. Habits of early reading had greatly aided to prepare me for the task; but necessary knowledge of a more practical kind has been supplied by the indulgence of a strong natural taste, which, at various intervals, led me to the wild regions of the north and west. Here, by the camp-fire, or in the canoe, I gained familiar acquaintance with the men and scenery of the wilderness. In 1846, I visited various primitive tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and was, for a time, domesticated in a village of the western Dahcotah, on the high plains between Mount Laramie and the range of the Medicine Bow. The most troublesome part of the task was the collection of the necessary documents. These consisted of letters, journals, reports, and despatches, scattered among numerous public offices, and private families, in Europe and America. When brought together, they amounted to about three thousand four hundred manuscript pages. Contemporary newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets have also been examined, and careful search made for every book which, directly or indirectly, might throw light upon the subject. I have visited the sites of

all the principal events recorded in the narrative, and gathered such local traditions as seemed worthy of confidence. . . . The crude and promiscuous mass of materials presented an aspect by no means inviting. The field of the history was uncultured and unreclaimed, and the labor that awaited me was like that of the border settler, who, before he builds his rugged dwelling, must fell the forest trees, burn the undergrowth, clear the ground, and hew the fallen trunks to due proportion. Several obstacles have retarded the progress of the work. Of these, one of the most considerable was the condition of my sight. For about three years, the light of day was insupportable, and every attempt at reading or writing completely debarred. Under these circumstances, the task of sifting the materials and composing the work was begun and finished. The papers were repeatedly read aloud by an amanuensis, copious notes and extracts were made, and the narrative written down from my dictation. This process, though extremely slow and laborious, was not without its advantages; and I am well convinced that the authorities have been even more minutely examined, more scrupulously collated, and more thoroughly digested, than they would have been under ordinary circumstances."

In the preface to the *Montcalm and Wolfe* he says: "I have visited and examined every spot where events of any importance in connection with the contest took place, and have observed with attention such scenes and persons as might help to illustrate those I meant to describe. In short, the subject has been studied as much from life and in the open air as at the library-table." In the introduction to *The Pioneers of France in the New World* we are shown again something of the difficulties under which Mr. Parkman has labored in his great work: "During the past eighteen years the state of the writer's health has exacted throughout an extreme caution in regard to mental application, reducing it at best within narrow and precarious limits, and often precluding it. Indeed, for two periods, each of several years, any attempt at bookish occupation would have been merely suicidal. A condition of sight arising from kindred sources has also retarded the work, since it has never permitted reading or writing continuously for more than five minutes, and often has not permitted them at all."

All this reminds us of the similar heroic devotion and the similar great achievements of Prescott, under similar disadvantages. The careers of both Prescott and Parkman, in whose work appears no sign of the discouragements which hindered them and of the frequent depressions which these must have occasioned, but where all is calm, exact, faithful, and strong, furnish an example to our young students, which should nerve them all to greater industry, greater energy, greater trust, a more beautiful patience, and a larger vision.



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No. 4.

The Capture of Quebec.

FROM PARKMAN'S "CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC."

The eventful night of the twelfth [Sept., 1759] was clear and calm, with no light but that of the stars. Within two hours before daybreak, thirty boats, crowded with sixteen hundred soldiers, cast off from the vessels, and floated downward, in perfect order, with the current of the ebb tide. To the boundless joy of the army, Wolfe's malady had abated, and he was able to command in person. His ruined health, the gloomy prospects of the siege, and the disaster at Montmorenci had oppressed him with the deepest melancholy, but never impaired for a moment the promptness of his decisions, or the impetuous energy of his action.¹ He sat in the stern of one of the boats, pale and weak, but borne up to a calm height of resolution. Every order had been given, every arrangement made, and it only remained to face the issue. The ebbing tide sufficed to bear the boats along, and nothing broke the silence of the night but the gurgling of the river, and the low voice of Wolfe,

¹ In his letter to the Ministry, dated Sept. 2, Wolfe writes in these desponding words:—

"By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting: yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave troops should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event. However, you may be assured that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honor of his Majesty, and the interest of the nation; in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral and by the generals: happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other part of America."

as he repeated to the officers about him the stanzas of Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," which had recently appeared and which he had just received from England. Perhaps, as he uttered those strangely appropriate words, —

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

the shadows of his own approaching fate stole with mournful prophecy across his mind. "Gentlemen," he said, as he closed his recital, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec tomorrow."¹

As they approached the landing-place, the boats edged closer in towards the northern shore, and the woody precipices rose high on their left, like a wall of undistinguished blackness.

"*Qui vive ?*" shouted a French sentinel, from out the impervious gloom.

"*La France !*" answered a captain of Fraser's Highlanders, from the foremost boat.

"*A quel régiment ?*" demanded the soldier.

"*De la Reine !*" promptly replied the Highland captain, who chanced to know that the regiment so designated formed part of Bougainville's command. As boats were frequently passing down the river with supplies for the garrison, and as a convoy from Bougainville was expected that very night, the sentinel was deceived, and allowed the English to proceed.

A few moments after, they were challenged again, and this time they could discern the soldier running close down to the water's edge, as if all his suspicions were aroused; but the skilful replies of the Highlander once more saved the party from discovery.²

They reached the landing-place in safety, — an indentation in the shore, about a league above the city, and now bearing

¹ "This anecdote was related by the late celebrated John Robison, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, who, in his youth, was a midshipman in the British navy, and was in the same boat with Wolfe. His son, my kinsman, Sir John Robison, communicated it to me, and it has since been recorded in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

'The paths of glory lead but to the grave'

is one of the lines which Wolfe must have recited as he strikingly exemplified its application." — Grahame, *Hist. U. S.* IV. 50. See also *Playfair's Works*, IV. 126.

² Smollett, V. 56, note (Edinburgh, 1805). Mante simply mentions that the English were challenged by the sentinels, and escaped discovery by replying in French.

the name of Wolfe's Cove. Here a narrow path led up the face of the heights, and a French guard was posted at the top to defend the pass. By the force of the current, the foremost boats, including that which carried Wolfe himself, were borne a little below the spot. The general was one of the first on shore. He looked upward at the rugged heights which towered above him in the gloom. "You can try it," he coolly observed to an officer near him; "but I don't think you'll get up."¹

At the point where the Highlanders landed, one of their captains, Donald Macdonald, apparently the same whose presence of mind had just saved the enterprise from ruin, was climbing in advance of his men, when he was challenged by a sentinel. He replied in French, by declaring that he had been sent to relieve the guard, and ordering the soldier to withdraw.² Before the latter was undeceived, a crowd of Highlanders were close at hand, while the steep slopes below were thronged with eager climbers, dragging themselves up by trees, roots, and bushes.³ The guard turned out, and made a brief though brave resistance. In a moment, they were cut to pieces, dispersed, or made prisoners; while men after men came swarming up the height, and quickly formed upon the plains above. Meanwhile, the vessels had dropped downward with the current, and anchored opposite the landing-place. The remaining troops were disembarked, and, with the dawn of day, the whole were brought in safety to the shore.

The sun rose, and, from the ramparts of Quebec, the astonished people saw the Plains of Abraham glittering with arms, and the dark-red lines of the English forming in array of battle. Breathless messengers had borne the evil tidings to Montcalm, and far and near his wide-extended camp resounded with the rolling of alarm drums and the din of startled preparation. He, too, had had his struggles and his sorrows. The civil power had thwarted him; famine, discontent, and disaffection were rife among his soldiers; and no small portion of the Canadian militia had dispersed from sheer starvation. In spite of all, he had trusted to hold out till the winter frosts should

¹ This incident is mentioned in a manuscript journal of the siege of Quebec, by John Johnson, clerk and quartermaster in the 58th regiment. The journal is written with great care, and abounds in curious details.

² Knox, *Journal*, II. 68, note.

³ Despatch of Admiral Saunders, Sept. 20, 1759.

drive the invaders from before the town; when, on that disastrous morning, the news of their successful temerity fell like a cannon shot upon his ear. Still he assumed a tone of confidence. "They have got to the weak side of us at last," he is reported to have said, "and we must crush them with our numbers." With headlong haste, his troops were pouring over the bridge of the St. Charles, and gathering in heavy masses under the western ramparts of the town. Could numbers give assurance of success, their triumph would have been secure; for five French battalions and the armed colonial peasantry amounted in all to more than seven thousand five hundred men. Full in sight before them stretched the long, thin lines of the British forces, — the half-wild Highlanders, the steady soldiery of England, and the hardy levies of the provinces, — less than five thousand in number, but all inured to battle, and strong in the full assurance of success. Yet, could the chiefs of that gallant army have pierced the secrets of the future, could they have foreseen that the victory which they burned to achieve would have robbed England of her proudest boast, that the conquest of Canada would pave the way for the independence of America, their swords would have dropped from their hands, and the heroic fire have gone out within their hearts.

It was nine o'clock, and the adverse armies stood motionless, each gazing on the other. The clouds hung low, and, at intervals, warm light showers descended, besprinkling both alike. The coppice and cornfields in front of the British troops were filled with French sharpshooters, who kept up a distant, spattering fire. Here and there a soldier fell in the ranks, and the gap was filled in silence.

At a little before ten, the British could see that Montcalm was preparing to advance, and, in a few moments, all his troops appeared in rapid motion. They came on in three divisions, shouting after the manner of their nation, and firing heavily as soon as they came within range. In the British ranks, not a trigger was pulled, not a soldier stirred; and their ominous composure seemed to damp the spirits of the assailants. It was not till the French were within forty yards that the fatal word was given, and the British muskets blazed forth at once in one crashing explosion. Like a ship at full career, arrested with sudden ruin on a sunken rock, the ranks of Montcalm staggered, shivered, and broke before that wasting storm of lead. The smoke, rolling along the field, for a moment shut out the view; but when the white wreaths were scattered on

the wind, a wretched spectacle was disclosed ; men and officers tumbled in heaps, battalions resolved into a mob, order and obedience gone ; and when the British muskets were levelled for a second volley, the masses of the militia were seen to cower and shrink with uncontrollable panic. For a few minutes the French regulars stood their ground, returning a sharp and not ineffectual fire. But now, echoing cheer on cheer, redoubling volley on volley, trampling the dying and the dead and driving the fugitives in crowds, the British troops advanced and swept the field before them. The ardor of the men burst all restraint. They broke into a run, and with unsparing slaughter chased the flying multitude to the gates of Quebec. Foremost of all, the light-footed Highlanders dashed along in furious pursuit, hewing down the Frenchmen with their broadswords, and slaying many in the very ditch of the fortifications. Never was victory more quick or more decisive.¹

In the short action and pursuit the French lost fifteen hundred men killed, wounded, and taken. Of the remainder, some escaped within the city, and others fled across the St. Charles to rejoin their comrades who had been left to guard the camp. The pursuers were recalled by sound of trumpet ; the broken ranks were formed afresh, and the English troops withdrawn beyond reach of the cannon of Quebec. Bougainville, with his corps, arrived from the upper country, and, hovering about their rear, threatened an attack ; but when he saw what greeting was prepared for him, he abandoned his purpose and withdrew. Townshend and Murray, the only general officers who remained unhurt, passed to the head of every regiment in turn, and thanked the soldiers for the bravery they had shown ; yet the triumph of the victors was mingled with sadness, as the tidings went from rank to rank that Wolfe had fallen.

In the heat of the action, as he advanced at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg, a bullet shattered his wrist ; but he wrapped his handkerchief about the wound, and showed no sign of pain. A moment more, and a ball pierced his side. Still he pressed forward, waving his sword and cheering his soldiers to the attack, when a third shot lodged deep within his

¹ Despatch of General Townshend, Sept. 20. Gardiner, *Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec*, 28. *Journal of the Siege of Quebec*, by a Gentleman in an Eminent Station on the Spot, 40. Letter to a Right Honorable Patriot on the Glorious Success of Quebec. *Annual Register* for 1759, 49.

breast. He paused, reeled, and staggering to one side, fell to the earth. Brown, a lieutenant of the grenadiers, Henderson, a volunteer, an officer of artillery, and a private soldier, raised him together in their arms, and, bearing him to the rear, laid him softly on the grass. They asked if he would have a surgeon; but he shook his head, and answered that all was over with him. His eyes closed with the torpor of approaching death, and those around sustained his fainting form. Yet they could not withhold their gaze from the wild turmoil before them, and the charging ranks of their companions rushing through fire and smoke. "See how they run," one of the officers exclaimed, as the French fled in confusion before the levelled bayonets. "Who run?" demanded Wolfe, opening his eyes like a man aroused from sleep. "The enemy, sir," was the reply; "they give way everywhere." "Then," said the dying general, "tell Colonel Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River, to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I will die in peace," he murmured; and, turning on his side, he calmly breathed his last.¹

Almost at the same moment fell his great adversary, Montcalm, as he strove, with vain bravery, to rally his shattered ranks. Struck down with a mortal wound, he was placed upon a litter and borne to the General Hospital on the banks of the St. Charles. The surgeons told him that he could not recover. "I am glad of it," was his calm reply. He then asked how long he might survive, and was told that he had not many hours remaining. "So much the better," he said; "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Officers from the garrison came to his bedside to ask his orders and instructions. "I will give no more orders," replied the defeated soldier; "I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short; therefore, pray leave me." The officers withdrew, and none remained in the chamber but his confessor and the Bishop of Quebec. To the last, he expressed his contempt for his own mutinous and half-famished troops, and his admiration for the disciplined valor of his opponents.² He died before midnight, and was buried at

¹ Knox, II. 78. Knox derived his information from the person who supported Wolfe in his dying moments.

² Knox, II. 77.

his own desire in a cavity of the earth formed by the bursting of a bombshell.

The victorious army encamped before Quebec, and pushed their preparations for the siege with zealous energy ; but before a single gun was brought to bear, the white flag was hung out, and the garrison surrendered. On the eighteenth of September, 1759, the rock-built citadel of Canada passed forever from the hands of its ancient masters.

The victory on the Plains of Abraham and the downfall of Quebec filled all England with pride and exultation. From north to south, the land blazed with illuminations, and resounded with the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and the shouts of the multitude. In one village alone all was dark and silent amid the general joy ; for here dwelt the widowed mother of Wolfe. The populace, with unwonted delicacy, respected her lonely sorrow, and forbore to obtrude the sound of their rejoicings upon her grief for one who had been through life her pride and solace, and repaid her love with a tender and constant devotion.¹

Canada, crippled and dismembered by the disasters of this year's campaign, lay waiting, as it were, the final stroke which was to extinguish her last remains of life, and close the eventful story of French dominion in America.

With the Peace of Paris ended the checkered story of New France ; a story which would have been a history if faults of constitution and the bigotry and folly of rulers had not dwarfed it to an episode. Yet it is a noteworthy one in both its lights and its shadows : in the disinterested zeal of the founder of Quebec, the self-devotion of the early missionary martyrs, and the daring enterprise of explorers ; in the spiritual and temporal vassalage from which the only escape was to the savagery of the wilderness ; and in the swarming corruptions which were the natural result of an attempt to rule, by the absolute hand of a master beyond the Atlantic, a people bereft of every vestige of civil liberty. Civil liberty was given them by the British sword ; but the conqueror left their religious system untouched, and through it they have imposed upon themselves a weight of ecclesiastical tutelage that finds few equals in the most Catholic countries of Europe. Such guardianship is not without certain advantages. When faithfully exercised, it aids to uphold some of the tamer virtues, if that can be called a virtue which needs the constant presence of a sentinel to keep it from escaping ; but it is

¹ *Annual Register* for 1759, 43.

fatal to mental robustness and moral courage; and if French Canada would fulfil its aspirations it must cease to be one of the most priest-ridden communities of the modern world.

Scarcely were they free from the incubus of France when the British provinces showed symptoms of revolt. The measures on the part of the mother-country which roused their resentment, far from being oppressive, were less burdensome than the navigation laws to which they had long submitted; and they resisted taxation by Parliament simply because it was in principle opposed to their rights as freemen. They did not, like the American provinces of Spain at a later day, sunder themselves from a parent fallen into decrepitude; but with astonishing audacity they affronted the wrath of England in the hour of her triumph, forgot their jealousies and quarrels, joined hands in the common cause, fought, endured, and won. The dis-united colonies became the United States. The string of discordant communities along the Atlantic coast has grown to a mighty people, joined in a union which the earthquake of civil war served only to compact and consolidate. Those who in the weakness of their dissensions needed help from England against the savage on their borders have become a nation that may defy every foe but that most dangerous of all foes, herself, destined to a majestic future if she will shun the excess and perversion of the principles that made her great, prate less about the enemies of the past and strive more against the enemies of the present, resist the mob and the demagogue as she resisted Parliament and King, rally her powers from the race for gold and the delirium of prosperity to make firm the foundations on which that prosperity rests, and turn some fair proportion of her vast mental forces to other objects than material progress and the game of party politics. She has tamed the savage continent, peopled the solitude, gathered wealth untold, waxed potent, imposing, redoubtable; and now it remains for her to prove, if she can, that the rule of the masses is consistent with the highest growth of the individual; that democracy can give the world a civilization as mature and pregnant, ideas as energetic and vitalizing, and types of manhood as lofty and strong, as any of the systems which it boasts to supplant. — From *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

The account of the capture of Quebec in the present leaflet is given as found in the pages of Parkman, because no contemporary account is equally graphic, and because Parkman has brought together everything of value from the older accounts. We have chosen for the leaflet the account in *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, instead of that in *Montcalm and Wolfe*, because *Montcalm and Wolfe* will be read by all who are making a study of the battle of Quebec and the events preceding and following it, and such will have in their hands the somewhat different account in that work. In the *Wolfe and Montcalm*, Vol. ii, appendices H, I, and J, will be found full and interesting references to all the original authorities concerning the battle.



Old South Leaflets.

SEVENTH SERIES, 1889.

No. 5.

Franklin in France.

*A Selection from Franklin's Letters, written during his stay
in Paris.*

TO JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Nantes, 8 December, 1776.

SIR:— In thirty days after we left the Capes of Delaware we came to an anchor in Quiberon Bay. I remained on board four days, expecting a change of wind proper to carry the ship into the river Loire; but the wind seemed fixed in an opposite quarter. I landed at Auray, and with some difficulty got hither, the road not being well supplied with means of conveyance. Two days before we saw land, we met a brigantine from Bordeaux belonging to Cork, and another from Rochefort belonging to Hull, both of which were taken. The first had on board staves, tar, turpentine, and claret; the other cognac brandy and flaxseed. There is some difficulty in determining what to do with them; as they are scarce worth sending to America, and the mind of the French court, with regard to prizes brought into their ports, is not yet known. It is certainly contrary to their treaties with Britain to permit the sale of them, and we have no regular means of trying and condemning them. There are, however, many here who would purchase prizes, we having already had several offers from persons who are willing to take upon themselves all consequences as to the illegality. Captain Wickes, as soon as he can get his refreshment, intends to cruise in the Channel.

Our friends in France have been a good deal dejected with the *Gazette* accounts of advantages obtained against us by the British troops. I have helped them here to recover their spirits

a little, by assuring them, that we still face the enemy, and were under no apprehension of their armies being able to complete their junction. I understand that Mr. Lee has lately been at Paris, that Mr. Deane is still there, and that an underhand supply is obtained from the government of two hundred brass field-pieces, thirty thousand firelocks, and some other military stores, which are now shipping for America, and will be convoyed by a ship of war. The court of England (M. Penet tells me, from whom I had the above intelligence) had the folly to demand Mr. Deane to be delivered up, but were refused.

Our voyage, though not long, was rough, and I feel myself weakened by it; but I now recover strength daily, and in a few days shall be able to undertake the journey to Paris. I have not yet taken any public character, thinking it prudent first to know whether the court is ready and willing to receive ministers publicly from the Congress; that we may neither embarrass it on the one hand, nor subject ourselves to the hazard of a disgraceful refusal on the other. I have despatched an express to Mr. Deane, with the letters that I had for him from the committee and a copy of our commission, that he may immediately make the proper inquiries, and give me information. In the meantime I find it generally supposed here that I am sent to negotiate; and that opinion appears to give great pleasure, if I can judge by the extreme civilities I meet with from numbers of the principal people who have done me the honor to visit me.

I have desired Mr. Deane, by some speedy and safe means, to give Mr. Lee notice of his appointment. I find several vessels here laden with military stores for America, just ready to sail. On the whole, there is the greatest prospect that we shall be well provided for another campaign, and much stronger than we were last. A Spanish fleet has sailed with seven thousand land forces foot, and some horse. Their destination is unknown, but supposed against the Portuguese in Brazil. Both France and England are preparing strong fleets, and it is said that all the powers of Europe are preparing for war, apprehending that a general one cannot be very far distant. When I arrive at Paris, I shall be able to write with more certainty. I beg you to present my duty to Congress, and assure them of my most faithful endeavors in their service. With the sincerest esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SIR:—The Marquis de Lafayette, a young nobleman of great expectations and exceedingly beloved here, is by this time probably with you. By some misapprehension in his contract with the merchants of Bordeaux he was prevented from using the produce of the cargo he carried over, and so was left without a supply of money. His friends here have sent him over about £500 sterling; and have proposed sending him more; but on reflection, knowing the extreme generosity of his disposition, and fearing that some of his necessitous and artful countrymen may impose on his goodness, they wish to put his money into the hands of some discreet friend, who may supply him from time to time, and by that means knowing his expenses, may take occasion to advise him, if necessary, with a friendly affection, and secure him from too much imposition. They accordingly have desired us to name such a person to them. We have not been able to think of one so capable, and so suitable from the influence of situation, to perform that kind office, as General Washington, under whose eye the gentleman will probably be. We beg, therefore, in his behalf, what his friends out of respect would not take the liberty of asking, that your Excellency would be pleased to furnish him with what money he may want in moderation, and take his drafts payable to us for the sums paid him, which we shall receive here and apply to the public service. We also join with his family in their earnest request that you would favor him with your counsels, which, you may be assured, will be an act of benevolence gratefully remembered and acknowledged by a number of very worthy persons here who interest themselves extremely in the welfare of that amiable young nobleman.

With the greatest respect, we have the honor to be, sir,
Your Excellency's, etc.

TO MRS. MARGARET STEVENSON.

Passy, 25 January, 1779.

It is always with great pleasure when I think of our long-continued friendship, which had not the least interruption in the course of twenty years (some of the happiest of my life), that I spent under your roof and in your company. If I do not write to you as often as I used to do, when I happened to be absent from you, it is owing partly to the present difficulty of

sure communication, and partly to an apprehension of some inconvenience that my correspondence might possibly occasion you. Be assured, my dear friend, that my regard, esteem, and affection for you are not in the least impaired or diminished, and that, if circumstances would permit, nothing would afford me so much satisfaction as to be with you in the same house, and to experience again your faithful, tender care and attention to my interests, health, and comfortable living, which so long and steadily attached me to you, and which I shall ever remember with gratitude.

I thought I had mentioned to you before (and I believe I did, though my letter may have miscarried), that I had received the white cloth suit, the sword, and the saddle for Temple, all in good order. I mention them now again, because Polly tells me you had not heard of their arrival. I wore the clothes a good deal last summer. There is one thing more that I wish to have, if you should meet with an opportunity of sending it. I mean the copper pot lined with silver, to roast fowls in by means of a heater. I should also be glad of the piece of elephant's tooth. It is old ivory, perhaps of the time before the flood, and would be a rarity to some friends here. But I doubt you will not be able to send them.

I rejoice to learn that your health is established, and that you live pleasantly in a country town, with agreeable neighbors, and have your dear children about you. My love to every one of them. I long to see them and you; but the times do not permit me the hope of it. Why do you never write to me? I used to love to read your letters, and I regret your long silence. They were seasoned with good sense and friendship, and even your spelling pleased me. Polly knows I think the worst spelling the best. I do not write to her by this conveyance. You will let her know that I acknowledge the receipt of her pleasing letter, dated the 11th instant. I shall now only observe to you upon it, that I know not how the patent can be taken out in Jacob's name. I am sure he had no claim to it, for when I first proposed to him the making of such wheels at Mr. Viny's, in the country, he objected to it as impracticable. But Mr. Viny, who seized the thought and carried it into execution, had certainly the best right to the patent. I wish he would send me a good drawing, with the proportions, of the little carriage with horses, which his children came once in to see us. How do they all do, and particularly my little patient *Bessum*?

Since my coming here I have been told that Mr. Henley, the linen-draper, had said, on my going to America, that I had gone away in his debt. I can hardly believe it. Let me know if you have heard such a thing, and what is the meaning of it. I thought he had been fully paid, and still think so, and shall till I am assured of the contrary. Let me know, at the same time, how my account stands with you.

You wish to know how I live. It is in a fine house, situated in a neat village, on high ground, half a mile from Paris, with a large garden to walk in. I have abundance of acquaintance, dine abroad six days in seven. Sundays I reserve to dine at home, with such Americans as pass this way, and I then have my grandson Ben, with some other American children from the school.

If being treated with all the politeness of France, and the apparent respect and esteem of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, can make a man happy, I ought to be so. Indeed, I have nothing to complain of but a little too much business, and the want of that order and economy in my family, which reigned in it when under your prudent direction. My paper gives me only room to add that I am ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Passy, 22 March, 1779.

DEAR SIR:—I admire much the activity of your genius and the strong desire you have of being continually employed against our common enemy.

It is certain that the coasts of England and Scotland are extremely open and defenceless; there are also many rich towns near the sea, which four or five thousand men, landing unexpectedly, might easily surprise and destroy, or exact from them a heavy contribution, taking a part in ready money and hostages for the rest. I should suppose, for example, that two millions sterling, or forty-eight millions of livres, might be demanded of Bristol for the town and shipping; twelve millions of livres from Bath; forty-eight millions from Liverpool; six millions from Lancaster; and twelve millions from Whitehaven. On the east side there are the towns of New Castle, Scarborough, Lynn, and Yarmouth, from which very considerable sums might be exacted. And if among the troops there were

a few horsemen to make sudden incursions at some little distance from the coast, it would spread terror to much greater distances, and the whole would occasion movements and marches of troops that must put the enemy to a prodigious expense and harass them exceedingly. Their militia will probably soon be drawn from the different counties to one or two places of encampment, so that little or no opposition can be made to such a force as is above mentioned in the places where they may land. But the practicability of such an operation, and the means of facilitating and executing it, military people can best judge of. I have not enough of knowledge in such matters to presume upon advising it, and I am so troublesome to the ministers on other accounts that I could hardly venture to solicit it if I were ever so confident of its success. Much will depend on a prudent and brave sea commander, who knows the coasts, and on a leader of the troops who has the affair at heart, who is naturally active and quick in his enterprises, of a disposition proper to conciliate the good-will and affection of both the corps, and by that means to prevent or obviate such misunderstandings as are apt to arise between them, and which are often pernicious to joint expeditions.

On the whole, it may be encouraging to reflect on the many instances of history which prove that in war attempts, thought to be impossible, do often, for that very reason, become possible and practicable because nobody expects them and no precautions are taken to guard against them. And those are the kind of undertakings of which the success affords the most glory to the ministers who plan and to the officers who execute them.

With the sincerest esteem and affection, I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Passy, 21 April, 1779.

DEAR MASTER JOHNNY:— I am glad you have seen Brest and the fleet there. It must give you an idea of the naval force of this kingdom which you will long retain with pleasure.

I caused the letters you enclosed to me to be carefully delivered, but have not received answers to be sent you.

Benjamin, whom you so kindly remember, would have been glad to hear of your welfare, but he is gone to Geneva.

As he is destined to live in a Protestant country, and a republic, I thought it best to finish his education where the proper principles prevail.

I heartily wish you a good voyage and a happy sight of your mamma, being really your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Passy, 24 August, 1779.

SIR :— The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express every thing but the sense we have of your worth and our obligations to you. For this, figures and even words are found insufficient. I therefore only add that, with the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. — My grandson goes to Harve with the sword, and will have the honor of presenting it to you.

TO RICHARD PRICE.

Passy, 6 February, 1780.

DEAR SIR :— I received but very lately, your kind favor of October 14th, by Dr. Ingenhousz, who brought it, having stayed long in Holland. I sent that enclosed, directly to Mr. Lee. It gave me great pleasure to understand that you continue well. Take care of yourself ; your life is a valuable one. Your writings, after all the abuse you and they have met with, begin to make serious impressions on those who at first rejected the counsels you gave ; and they will acquire new weight every day, and be in high esteem when the cavils against them are dead and forgotten.

Please to present my affectionate respects to that honest, sensible, and intelligent society who did me so long the honor of admitting me to share in their instructive conversations. I never think of the hours I so happily spent in that company without regretting that they are never to be repeated; for I see no prospect of an end to this unhappy war in my time. Dr. Priestley, you tell me, continues his experiments with success. We make daily great improvements in *natural*—there is one I wish to see in *moral*—philosophy: the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this? When will men be convinced that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences? Your great comfort and mine in this war is, that we honestly and faithfully did every thing in our power to prevent it. Adieu; and believe me ever, my dear friend, yours, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Passy, 5 March, 1780.

SIR:—I have received but lately the letter your Excellency did me the honor of writing to me in recommendation of the Marquis de Lafayette. His modesty detained it long in his own hands. We became acquainted, however, from the time of his arrival at Paris; and his zeal for the honor of our country, his activity in our affairs here, and his firm attachment to our cause and to you, impressed me with the same regard and esteem for him that your Excellency's letter would have done, had it been immediately delivered to me.

Should peace arrive after another campaign or two, and afford us a little leisure, I should be happy to see your Excellency in Europe and to accompany you, if my age and strength would permit, in visiting some of its ancient and most famous kingdoms. You would, on this side of the sea, enjoy the great reputation you have acquired, pure and free from those little shades that the jealousy and envy of a man's countrymen and contemporaries are ever endeavoring to cast over living merit. Here you would know, and enjoy, what posterity will say of Washington. For a thousand leagues have nearly the same

effect with a thousand years. The feeble voice of those grovelling passions cannot extend so far either in time or distance. At present I enjoy that pleasure for you; as I frequently hear the old generals of this martial country, who study the maps of America, and mark upon them all your operations, speak with sincere approbation and great applause of your conduct; and join in giving you the character of one of the greatest captains of the age.

I must soon quit this scene, but you may live to see our country flourish, as it will amazingly and rapidly after the war is over; like a field of young Indian corn, which long fair weather and sunshine had enfeebled and discolored, and which in that weak state, by a thunder-gust of violent wind, hail, and rain, seemed to be threatened with absolute destruction; yet the storm being past, it recovers fresh verdure, shoots up with double vigor, and delights the eye, not of its owner only, but of every observing traveller.

The best wishes that can be formed for your health, honor, and happiness, ever attend you from yours, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

Passy, 26 November, 1781.

SIR:—I sent forward last Saturday some packets and letters for you, which I hope got to hand in time. Most heartily do I congratulate you on the glorious news!¹ The infant Hercules in his cradle has now strangled his second serpent, and gives hopes that his future history will be answerable.

I enclose a packet which I have just received from General Washington, and which I suppose contains the articles of capitulation. It is a rare circumstance, and scarce to be met with in history, that in one war two armies should be taken prisoners completely, not a man in either escaping. It is another singular circumstance, that an expedition so complex, formed of armies of different nations, and of land and sea forces, should with such perfect concord be assembled from different places by land and water, form their junction punctually, without the least retard by cross accidents of wind or

¹ The "glorious news" here referred to was the capitulation of Cornwallis' army at Yorktown, on the 17th of October preceding.

weather, or interruption from the enemy; and that the army which was their object should in the meantime have the goodness to quit a situation from whence it might have escaped, and place itself in another whence an escape was impossible.

General Greene has done wonders, too, in Carolina. I hear that a reinforcement was to be sent to him from the army in Virginia, and that there are hopes of his reducing Charleston. You have probably in the enclosed packet the account of his last great action. Count de Grasse sailed on the 30th with the fleet and part of the land forces. His destination is not mentioned. I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

Passy, 24 December, 1782.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your ingenious paper in favor of the trees. I own I now wish we had two rows of them in every one of our streets. The comfortable shelter they would afford us, when walking, from our burning summer suns, and the greater coolness of our walls and pavements, would, I conceive in the improved health of the inhabitants, amply compensate the loss of a house now and then by fire, if such should be the consequence. But a tree is soon felled; and, as axes are at hand in every neighborhood, may be down before the engines arrive.

You do well to avoid being concerned in the pieces of personal abuse, so scandalously common in our newspapers that I am afraid to lend any of them here until I have examined and laid aside such as would disgrace us, and subject us among strangers to a reflection like that used by a gentleman in a coffee-house to two quarrellers, who, after a mutually free use of the words, *rogue, villain, rascal, scoundrel*, etc., seemed as if they would refer their dispute to him: "I know nothing of you, or your affairs," said he; "I only perceive *that you know one another.*"

The conductor of a newspaper should, methinks, consider himself as in some degree the guardian of his country's reputation, and refuse to insert such writings as may hurt it. If people will print their abuses of one another, let them do it in little pamphlets, and distribute them where they think proper. It is absurd to trouble all the world with them; and unjust to sub-

scribers in distant places, to stuff their paper with matters so unprofitable and so disagreeable. With sincere esteem and affection, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

The letters of Franklin in the present leaflet are selected from the hundreds of letters written during his residence in France as American minister (1776-1785), to give the student some indication of the variety of interests which occupied his mind during those crowded years. It was late in the autumn of 1776 that Congress determined to send Franklin, then over seventy, to take charge of the French mission. When asked to undertake the service he said, "I am old and good for nothing; but, as the storekeepers say of their remnants of cloth, 'I am a fag-end; you may have me for what you please.'"

The letter to Hancock, which is the first here given, announces Franklin's arrival in France. The letter to Mrs. Stevenson is interesting for the glimpses it affords of Franklin's manner of life at Passy. The letter to John Quincy Adams, then a boy of twelve, accompanying his father on his European embassy, will be especially interesting to the younger students. The letter to Richard Price is valuable for the strong condemnation of war which it contains, and its plea for some plan whereby nations could "settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats." There is a strong passage to the same effect in one of Franklin's letters to Dr. Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph, dated Passy, 10 June, 1782. He says: "After much occasion to consider the folly and mischiefs of a state of warfare, and the little or no advantage obtained even by those nations who have conducted it with the most success, I have been apt to think that there has never been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a *good* war, or a *bad* peace." He uses the same expression in an interesting letter to Josiah Quincy, dated Sept. 11, 1783, which the reader may find in Bigelow's edition of Franklin's Writings, vol. viii, p. 351. In the same volume, p. 463, see the passage on the Impolicy of War.

Did space permit, selections would be given from the many letters showing Franklin's continuous and great labors for the financial relief of the Colonies, which constitute a large proportion of the whole body of letters. These are historically of great significance, and, along with the great mass of Franklin's other letters written in France, will be consulted by the careful student in the editions of Franklin's Writings, edited by Bigelow and Sparks. Edward Everett Hale's work on *Franklin in France*, containing many letters not elsewhere published, is highly important in this connection; and the biographies of Franklin by Bigelow, Parton and McMaster will be consulted. Younger readers may prefer the *Autobiography* of

Franklin, edited and continued by D. H. Montgomery, in Ginn's series of "Classics for Children." Such readers are asked to note especially the chapter on Franklin's Mission to France (p. 271).

Franklin returned to America in the summer of 1785. In the previous year he wrote as follows in a letter to John Jay: "I have, as you observe, some enemies in England, but they are my enemies as an *American*; I have also two or three in America, who are my enemies as a *minister*; but I thank God there are not in the whole world any who are my enemies as a *man*; for by his grace, through a long life, I have been enabled so to conduct myself that there does not exist a human being who can justly say, 'Ben Franklin has wronged me.' This, my friend, is in old age a comfortable reflection. You too have, or may have, your enemies; but let not that render you unhappy. If you make a right use of them, they will do you more good than harm. They point out to us our faults; they put us upon our guard, and help us to live more correctly."



Old South Leaflets.

SEVENTH SERIES, 1889. No. 6.

Letters of Washington and Lafayette.

LAFAYETTE TO WASHINGTON.

"Camp, 30 December, 1777.

"MY DEAR GENERAL :—I went yesterday morning to headquarters, with an intention of speaking to your Excellency, but you were too busy, and I shall state in this letter what I wished to say. I need not tell you how sorry I am at what has lately happened; it is a necessary result of my tender and respectful friendship for you, which is as true and candid as the other sentiments of my heart, and much stronger than so new an acquaintance might seem to admit. But another reason for my concern is my ardent and perhaps enthusiastic wish for the happiness and liberty of this country. I see plainly that America can defend herself, if proper measures are taken; but I begin to fear that she may be lost by herself and her own sons.

"When I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that Toryism was as apparently professed as Whigism itself. There are open dissensions in Congress; parties who hate one another as much as the common enemy; men who, without knowing any thing about war, undertake to judge you, and to make ridiculous comparisons. They are infatuated with Gates, without thinking of the difference of circumstances, and believe that attacking is the only thing necessary to conquer. These ideas are entertained by some jealous men, and perhaps secret friends of the British government, who want to push you, in a moment of ill humor, to some rash enterprise upon the lines, or against a much stronger army.

"I should not take the liberty of mentioning these particulars to you, if I had not received a letter from a young, good-natured gentleman at Yorktown, whom Conway has ruined by his cunning and bad advice, but who entertains the greatest respect for you. I have been surprised to see the poor establishment of the Board of War, the difference made between northern and southern departments, and the orders from Congress about military operations. But the promotion of Conway is beyond all my expectations. I should be glad to have new major-generals, because, as I know that you take some interest in my happiness and reputation, it will perhaps afford an occasion for your Excellency to give me more agreeable commands in some instances. On the other hand, General Conway says he is entirely a man to be disposed of by me, he calls himself my soldier, and the reason of such behaviour towards me is, that he wishes to be well spoken of at the French Court; and his protector, the Marquis de Castries, is an intimate acquaintance of mine.

"But since the letter of Lord Stirling, I have inquired into his character, and found that he is an ambitious and dangerous man. He has done all in his power to draw off my confidence and affection from you. His desire was to engage me to leave this country. I now see all the general officers of the army against Congress. Such disputes, if known to the enemy, may be attended with the worst consequences. I am very sorry whenever I perceive troubles raised amongst defenders of the same cause; but my concern is much greater, when I find officers coming from France, officers of some character in my country, to whom a fault of that kind may be imputed. The reason for my fondness for Conway was his being a very brave and very good officer. However, that talent for manœuvring, which seems so extraordinary to Congress, is not so very difficult a matter for any man of common sense, who applies himself to it. I must render to General Duportail and some other French officers, who have spoken to me, the justice to say, that I found them as I could wish upon this occasion, although it has made a great noise amongst many in the army. I wish your Excellency could let them know how necessary you are to them, and engage them at the same time to keep peace and reinstate love among themselves, till the moment when these little disputes shall not be attended with such inconveniences. It would be too great a pity, that slavery, dishonor, ruin, and *the unhappiness of a whole nation, should issue from trifling differences betwixt a few men.*

"You will perhaps find this letter very unimportant ; but I was desirous of explaining to you some of my ideas, because it will contribute to my satisfaction to be convinced, that you, my dear General, who have been so indulgent as to permit me to look on you as a friend, should know my sentiments. I have the warmest love for my country, and for all good Frenchmen. Their success fills my heart with joy ; but, Sir, besides that Conway is an Irishman, I want countrymen, who in every point do honor to their country. That gentleman had engaged me, by entertaining my imagination with ideas of glory and shining projects, and I must confess this was a too certain way of deceiving me. I wish to join to the few theories about war, which I possess, and to the few dispositions which nature has given me, the experience of thirty campaigns, in the hope that I should be able to be more useful in my present sphere. My desire of deserving your approbation is strong ; and, whenever you shall employ me, you can be certain of my trying every exertion in my power to succeed. I am now bound to your fate, and I shall follow it and sustain it, as well by my sword as by all the means in my power. You will pardon my importunity. Youth and friendship perhaps make me too warm, but I feel the greatest concern at recent events. With the most tender and profound respect, I have the honor to be, &c."

WASHINGTON TO LAFAYETTE.

"Head-Quarters, 31 December, 1777.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS:—Your favor of yesterday conveyed to me fresh proof of that friendship and attachment, which I have happily experienced since the first of our acquaintance, and for which I entertain sentiments of the purest affection. It will ever constitute part of my happiness to know that I stand well in your opinion ; because I am satisfied that you can have no views to answer by throwing out false colors, and that you possess a mind too exalted to condescend to low arts and intrigues to acquire a reputation. Happy, thrice happy, would it have been for this army, and the cause we are embarked in, if the same generous spirit had pervaded all the actors in it. But one gentleman, whose name you have mentioned, had, I am confident, far different views. His ambition and great desire of being puffed off, as one of the first officers of the age, could only be equalled by the means which he used to obtain them :

but, finding that I was determined not to go beyond the line of my duty to indulge him in the first, nor to exceed the strictest rules of propriety to gratify him in the second, he became my inveterate enemy; and he has, I am persuaded, practised every art to do me an injury, even at the expense of reprobating a measure, which did not succeed, that he himself advised to. How far he may have accomplished his ends, I know not; and, except for considerations of a public nature, I care not; for it is well known, that neither ambitious nor lucrative motives led me to accept my present appointments; in the discharge of which, I have endeavoured to observe one steady and uniform system of conduct, which I shall invariably pursue, while I have the honor to command, regardless of the tongue of slander or the powers of detraction. The fatal tendency of disunion is so obvious, that I have in earnest terms exhorted such officers, as have expressed their dissatisfaction at General Conway's promotion, to be cool and dispassionate in their decision upon the matter; and I have hopes that they will not suffer any hasty determination to injure the service. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that officers' feelings upon these occasions are not to be restrained, although you may control their actions.

"The other observations contained in your letter have too much truth in them; and it is much to be lamented, that things are not now as they formerly were; but we must not, in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine. I have no doubt that everything happens for the best, that we shall triumph over all our misfortunes, and in the end be happy; when, my dear Marquis, if you will give me your company in Virginia, we will laugh at our past difficulties and the folly of others; and I will endeavour, by every civility in my power, to show you how much and how sincerely I am your affectionate and obedient servant."

LAFAYETTE TO WASHINGTON.

"St. Jean d'Angely, 12 June, 1779.

"MY DEAR GENERAL:—There is at length a safe occasion of writing to you, and of assuring you what sincere concern I feel at our separation. I had acquired such a habit of being inseparable from you, that I am more and more afflicted at the distance, which keeps me so far from my dearest friend, and especially at this particular time, as I think the campaign is *opened*, and that you are in the field. I ardently wish I might

be near you, know every interesting event, and if possible contribute to your success and glory.

"Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Congress, in which you will find such intelligence as I was to give them. The Chevalier de la Luzerne intends going to Congress by the way of headquarters. I promised that I would introduce him to your Excellency, and I have desired him to let you know any piece of news, which he has been entrusted with. By what you will hear, my dear General, you will see that our affairs take a good turn. Besides the favorable dispositions of Spain, Ireland is a good deal tired of English oppression. In confidence I would tell you, that the scheme of my heart would be to make it as free and independent as America. God grant that the sun of freedom may at length arise for the happiness of mankind. I shall know more about Ireland in a few weeks, and I will immediately inform your Excellency. As to Congress, there are so many people in it, that one cannot safely unbosom himself, as he does to his best friend. After referring you to the Chevalier de la Luzerne for what concerns the public news, the present situation of affairs, and the designs of our ministry, I will only speak to your Excellency about the great article of money. It gave me much trouble, and I so much insisted upon it, that the director of finances looks upon me as his evil genius. France has incurred great expenses lately. The Spaniards will not easily give their dollars. However, Dr. Franklin has got some money to pay the bills of Congress, and I hope I shall determine the government to greater sacrifices. Serving America is to my heart an inexpressible happiness.

"There is another point upon which you should employ all your influence and popularity. For God's sake prevent the Congress from disputing loudly together. Nothing so much hurts the interests and reputation of America, as these intestine quarrels. On the other hand, there are two parties in France; Mr. Adams and Mr. Lee on one part; Dr. Franklin and his friends on the other. So great is the concern, which these divisions give me, that I cannot wait on these gentlemen as much as I could wish, for fear of mentioning disputes, and bringing them to a greater height.

"I send enclosed a small note for M. Neuville. Give me leave to recommend to your Excellency the bearer thereof, our new minister plenipotentiary, who seems to me extremely well qualified for deserving general esteem and regard.

"I know you wish to hear something about my private

affairs. I gave an account of them to Congress, and shall only add, that I am here as happy as possible. My family, my friends, my countrymen, gave me such a reception, and show me every day such an affection, as I could not have hoped. For some days I have been in this place, where are the King's own regiment of dragoons, which I command, and some regiments of infantry, which are for the present under my orders. But what I want, my dear General, and what would make me the happiest of men, is to join again the American colors, or to put under your orders a division of four or five thousand of my countrymen. In case any such coöperation, or any private expedition is wished for, I think, if peace is not settled this winter, that an early demand might be complied with for the next campaign. Our ministers are rather slow in their operations, and have a great desire for peace, provided it is an honorable one ; so that I think America must show herself in earnest for war, till such conditions are obtained. American independence is a certain, an undoubted point ; but I wish that independence to be acknowledged on advantageous terms. On the whole, between ourselves, as to what concerns the royal and ministerial good will towards America, I, an American citizen, am fully satisfied with it, and I am sure the alliance and friendship between both nations will be established in such a way as will last for ever.

"Be so kind as to present my respects to your lady, and tell her how happy I should feel to present them myself, and at her own house. I have a wife, my dear General, who is in love with you, and affection for you seems to me so well justified, that I cannot oppose that sentiment in her. She begs you will receive her compliments, and make them acceptable to Mrs. Washington. I hope you will come to see us in Europe ; and most certainly I give you my word, that, if I am not happy enough to be sent to America before the peace, I shall by all means go there as soon as I can escape. I beg you will present my best compliments to your family, and remind them of my tender regard for them all ; and also to the general officers, to all the officers of the army, and to all the friends I have there. I entreat you to let me hear from you. Write to me how you do, and how things are going on. The minutest details will be interesting to me. Do not forget any thing concerning yourself. With the highest respect and the most sincere friendship, I have the honor to be, &c."

WASHINGTON TO LAFAYETTE.

"West Point, 30 September, 1779.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS:—A few days ago I wrote you a letter in much haste. Since that, I have been honored with the company of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and by him was favored with your obliging letter of the 12th of June, which filled me with equal pleasure and surprise; the latter at hearing that you had not received one of the many letters I had written to you since you left the American shore. It gave me infinite pleasure to hear, from yourself, of the favorable reception you met with from your sovereign, and of the joy, which your safe arrival in France had diffused among your friends. I had no doubt that this would be the case. To hear it from yourself adds pleasure to the account; and here, my dear friend, let me congratulate you on your new, honorable, and pleasing appointment in the army commanded by the Count de Vaux, which I shall accompany with an assurance, that none can do it with more warmth of affection, or sincere joy, than myself. Your forward zeal in the cause of liberty; your singular attachment to this infant world; your ardent and persevering efforts, not only in America, but since your return to France, to serve the United States; your polite attention to Americans, and your strict and uniform friendship for *me*, have ripened the first impressions of esteem and attachment, which I imbibed for you, into such perfect love and gratitude, as neither time nor absence can impair. This will warrant my assuring you, that, whether in the character of an officer at the head of a corps of gallant Frenchmen, if circumstances should require this, whether as a major-general commanding a division of the American army, or whether, after our swords and spears have given place to the ploughshare and pruning-hook, I see you as a private gentleman, a friend and companion, I shall welcome you with all the warmth of friendship to Columbia's shores; and, in the latter case, to my rural cottage, where homely fare and a cordial reception shall be substituted for delicacies and costly living. This, from past experience, I know you can submit to; and if the lovely partner of your happiness will consent to participate with *us* in such rural entertainment and amusements, I can undertake, in behalf of Mrs. Washington, that she will do every thing in her power to make Virginia agreeable to the Marchioness. My inclination and endeavours to do this cannot be doubted, when I assure you, that I love every body that is dear

to you, and consequently participate in the pleasure you feel in the prospect of again becoming a parent, and do most sincerely congratulate you and your lady on this fresh pledge she is about to give you of her love.

"I thank you for the trouble you have taken and your polite attention, in favoring me with a copy of your letter to Congress; and feel, as I am persuaded they must do, the force of such ardent zeal as you therein express for the interest of this country. The propriety of the hint you have given them must carry conviction, and I trust will have a salutary effect; though there is not, I believe, the same occasion for the admonition now, that there was several months ago. Many late changes have taken place in that honorable body, which have removed in a very great degree, if not wholly, the discordant spirit which, it is said, prevailed in the winter; and I hope measures will also be taken to remove those unhappy and improper differences, which have extended themselves elsewhere, to the prejudice of our affairs in Europe.

"I have had great pleasure in the visit, which the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Monsieur Marbois did me the honor to make at this camp; concerning both of whom I have imbibed the most favorable impressions, and I thank you for the honorable mention you made of me to them. The Chevalier, till he had announced himself to Congress, did not choose to be received in his public character. If he had, except paying him military honors, it was not my intention to depart from that plain and simple manner of living, which accords with the real interest and policy of men struggling under every difficulty for the attainment of the most inestimable blessing of life, *liberty*. The Chevalier was polite enough to approve my principle, and condescended to appear pleased with our Spartan living. In a word, he made us all exceedingly happy by his affability and good humor, while he remained in camp.

"You are pleased, my dear Marquis, to express an earnest desire of seeing me in France, after the establishment of our independency, and do me the honor to add, that you are not singular in your request. Let me entreat you to be persuaded, that to meet you any where, after the final accomplishment of so glorious an event, would contribute to my happiness; and that to visit a country, to whose generous aid we stand so much indebted, would be an additional pleasure; but remember, my good friend, that I am unacquainted with your language, *that I am too far advanced in years to acquire a knowledge of*

it, and that, to converse through the medium of an interpreter upon common occasions, especially with the ladies, must appear so extremely awkward, insipid, and uncouth, that I can scarcely bear it in idea. I will, therefore, hold myself disengaged for the present; but when I see you in Virginia, we will talk of this matter and fix our plans.

The declaration of Spain, in favor of France has given universal joy to every Whig; while the poor Tory droops, like a withering flower under a declining sun. We are anxiously expecting to hear of great and important events on your side of the Atlantic. At present, the imagination is left in the wide field of conjecture. Our eyes one moment are turned to an invasion of England, then of Ireland, Minorca, Gibraltar. In a word, we hope every thing, but know not what to expect, or where to fix. The glorious success of Count d'Estaing in the West Indies, at the same time that it adds dominion to France, and fresh lustre to her arms, is a source of new and unexpected misfortune to our *tender and generous parent*, and must serve to convince her of the folly of quitting the substance in pursuit of a shadow; and, as there is no experience equal to that which is bought, I trust she will have a super-abundance of this kind of knowledge, and be convinced, as I hope all the world and every tyrant in it will be, that the best and only safe road to honor, glory, and true dignity, is *justice*.

We have such repeated advices of Count d'Estaing's being in these seas, that, though I have no official information of the event, I cannot help giving entire credit to the report, and looking for his arrival every moment, and I am preparing accordingly. The enemy at New York also expect it; and, to guard against the consequences, as much as it is in their power to do, are repairing and strengthening all the old fortifications, and adding new ones in the vicinity of the city. Their fears, however, do not retard an embarkation, which was making, and generally believed to be for the West Indies or Charleston. It still goes forward; and, by my intelligence, it will consist of a pretty large detachment. About fourteen days ago, one British regiment (the forty-fourth completed) and three Hessian regiments were embarked, and are gone, as is supposed, to Halifax. The operations of the enemy this campaign have been confined to the establishment of works of defence, taking a post at King's Ferry, and burning the defenceless towns of New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, on the Sound within reach of their shipping, where little else was or could be opposed to them, than the

cries of distressed women and helpless children ; but these were offered in vain. Since these notable exploits, they have never stepped out of their works or beyond their lines. How a conduct of this kind is to effect the conquest of America, the wisdom of a North, a Germain, or a Sandwich best can decide. It is too deep and refined for the comprehension of common understandings and the general run of politicians.

Mrs. Washington, who set out for Virginia when we took the field in June, has often in her letters to me inquired if I had heard from you, and will be much pleased at hearing that you are well and happy. In her name, as she is not here, I thank you for your polite attention to her, and shall speak her sense of the honor conferred on her by the Marchioness. When I look back to the length of this letter, I have not the courage to give it a careful reading for the purpose of correction. You must, therefore, receive it with all its imperfections, accompanied with this assurance, that, though there may be many inaccuracies in the letter, there is not a single defect in the friendship of, my dear Marquis, yours, &c.

WASHINGTON TO LAFAYETTE.

Head-Quarters, 5 April, 1783.

MY DEAR MARQUIS : — It is easier for you to conceive, than for me to express, the sensibility of my heart at the communications in your letter of the 5th of February from Cadiz. It is to these communications we are indebted for the only account yet received of a general pacification. My mind, upon the receipt of this intelligence, was instantly assailed by a thousand ideas, all of them contending for preëminence ; but, believe me, my dear friend, none could supplant, or ever will eradicate that gratitude which has arisen from a lively sense of the conduct of your nation, and from my obligations to many of its illustrious characters (of whom, I do not mean to flatter, when I place you at the head), and from my admiration of the virtues of your august sovereign, who, at the same time that he stands confessed the father of his own people, and defender of American rights, has given the most exalted example of moderation in treating with his enemies.

We are now an independent people, and have yet to learn political tactics. We are placed among the nations of the earth, and have a character to establish ; but how we shall acquire *ourselves*, time must discover. The probability is, (at least I fear

it), that local or State politics will interfere too much with the more liberal and extensive plan of government, which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate; and that we shall be guilty of many blunders in treading this boundless theatre, before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art; in a word, that the experience, which is purchased at the price of difficulties and distress, will alone convince us, that the honor, power, and true interest of this country must be measured by a Continental scale, and that every departure therefrom weakens the Union, and may ultimately break the band which holds us together. To avert these evils, to form a new constitution, that will give consistency, stability, and dignity to the Union, and sufficient powers to the great council of the nation for general purposes, is a duty incumbent upon every man who wishes well to his country, and will meet with my aid as far as it can be rendered in the private walks of life.

The armament, which was preparing at Cadiz, and in which you were to have acted a distinguished part, would have carried such conviction with it that it is not to be wondered at that Great Britain should have been impressed with the force of such reasoning. To this cause, I am persuaded, the peace is to be ascribed. Your going to Madrid from thence, instead of coming immediately to this country, is another instance, my dear Marquis, of your zeal for the American cause, and lays a fresh claim to the gratitude of her sons, who will at all times receive you with open arms. As no official despatches are yet received, either at Philadelphia or New York, concerning the completion of the treaty, nor any measures taken for the reduction of the army, my detention with it is quite uncertain. Where I may be, then, at the time of your intended visit, is too uncertain even for conjecture; but nothing can be more true than that the pleasure with which I shall receive you will be equal to your wishes. I shall be better able to determine then, than now, on the practicability of accompanying you to France, a country to which I shall ever feel a warm affection; and, if I do not pay it that tribute of respect, which is to be derived from a visit, it may be ascribed with justice to any other cause, than a want of inclination, or the pleasure of going there under the auspices of your friendship.

I have already observed that the determination of Congress, if they have come to any, respecting the army, is yet unknown to me. But, as you wish to be informed of every thing that concerns it, I do, for your satisfaction, transmit authentic docu-

ments of some very interesting occurrences, which have happened within the last six months. But I ought first to premise, that, from accumulated sufferings and little or no prospect of relief, the discontents of the officers last fall put on the threatening appearance of a total resignation, till the business was diverted into the channel, which produced the address and petition to Congress, which stand first on the file herewith enclosed. I shall make no comment on these proceedings. To one so well acquainted with the sufferings of the American army as you are, it is unnecessary. It will be sufficient to observe, that the more its virtue and forbearance are tried, the more resplendent it appears. My hope is, that the military exit of this valuable class of the community will exhibit such a proof of *amor patriæ*, as will do them honor in the page of history.

These papers, with my last letter, which was intended to go by Colonel Gouvion, containing extensive details of military plans, will convey to you every information. If you should get sleepy and tired of reading them, recollect, for my exculpation, that it is in compliance with your request I have run into such prolixity. I made a proper use of the confidential part of your letter of the 5th of February.

The scheme, my dear Marquis, which you propose as a precedent to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country from that state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart. I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work; but will defer going into a detail of the business, till I have the pleasure of seeing you.

Tilghman is on the point of matrimony with a namesake and cousin, sister to Mrs. Carroll of Baltimore. It only remains for me now, my dear Marquis, to make a tender of my respectful compliments, in which Mrs. Washington unites, to Madame de Lafayette, and to wish you, her, and your little offspring, all the happiness this life can afford. I will extend my compliments to the gentlemen in your circle, with whom I have the honor of an acquaintance. I need not add how happy I shall be to see you in America, and more particularly at Mount Vernon, or with what truth and warmth of affection I am, &c.

WASHINGTON TO LAFAYETTE.

Mount Vernon, 8 December, 1784.

MY DEAR MARQUIS:—The peregrination of the day in which I parted from you ended at Marlborough. The next day, *bad as it was, I got home before dinner.*

"In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connexion, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I ever should have of you? And though I wished to say No, my fears answered Yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years climbing, and that, though I was blest with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades, and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently to my prospect of seeing you again. But I will not repine; I have had my day.

"Nothing of importance has occurred since I parted with you. I found my family well, and am now immersed in company; notwithstanding which, I have in haste produced a few more letters to give you the trouble of, rather inclining to commit them to your care, than to pass them through many and unknown hands.

"It is unnecessary, I persuade myself, to repeat to you, my dear Marquis, the sincerity of my regards and friendship; nor have I words which could express my affection for you, were I to attempt it. My fervent prayers are offered for your safe and pleasant passage, happy meeting with Madame de Lafayette and family, and the completion of every wish of your heart; in all which Mrs. Washington joins me; as she does in compliments to Captain Grandechau, and the Chevalier, of whom little Washington often speaks. With every sentiment, which is propitious and endearing, I am, &c."

WASHINGTON TO LAFAYETTE.

"Philadelphia, 15 August, 1787.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS:—Although the business of the federal convention is not yet closed, nor I, thereby, enabled to give you an account of its proceedings, yet the opportunity afforded by Commodore Paul Jones's return to France is too favorable for me to omit informing you, that the present expectation of the members is, that it will end about the first of next month, when, or as soon after as it shall be in my power, I will communicate the result of our long deliberation to you.

"Newspaper accounts inform us, that the session of the Assembly of Notables is ended; and you have had the goodness, in your letter of the 5th of May, to communicate some of the proceedings to me; among which is that of the interesting motion made by yourself, respecting the expenditure of public money by Monsieur de Calonne, and the consequence thereof.

"The patriotism, by which this motion was dictated, throws a lustre on the action, which cannot fail to dignify the author; and I sincerely hope with you, that much good will result from the deliberations of so respectable a council. I am not less ardent in my wish, that you may succeed in your plan of toleration in religious matters. Being no bigot myself to any mode of worship, I am disposed to indulge the professors of Christianity in the church with that road to Heaven, which to them shall seem the most direct, plainest, easiest, and least liable to exception.

"The politicians of this country hardly know what to make of the present situation of European affairs. If serious consequences do not follow the blood, which has been shed in the United Netherlands, these people will certainly have acted differently from the rest of mankind; and, in another quarter, one would think there could hardly be so much smoke without some fire between the Russians and Turks. Should these disputes kindle the flame of war, it is not easy to prescribe bounds to its extension or effect. The disturbances in Massachusetts have subsided, but there are seeds of discontent in every part of this Union; ready to produce other disorders, if the wisdom of the present convention should not be able to devise, and the good sense of the people be found ready to adopt, a more vigorous and energetic government, than the one under which we now live; for the present, from experience, has been found too feeble and inadequate to give that security, which our liberties and property render absolutely essential, and which the fulfilment of public faith loudly requires.

"Vain is it to look for respect from abroad, or tranquillity at home; vain is it to murmur at the detention of our western posts, or complain of the restriction of our commerce; vain are all the attempts to remedy the evils complained of by Dr. Dumas, to discharge the interest due on foreign loans, or satisfy the claims of foreign officers, the neglect of doing which is a high impeachment of our national character, and is hurtful to the feelings of every well-wisher to this country in and out of it; vain is it to talk of chastising the Algerines, or doing ourselves

justice in any other respect, till the wisdom and force of the Union can be more concentrated and better applied. With sentiments of the highest respect, and most perfect regard for Madame de Lafayette and your family, and with the most affectionate attachment to you, I am ever yours, &c."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF LAFAYETTE TO
WASHINGTON.

"Paris, March 17th, 1790.

"Our revolution is getting on as well as it can with a nation that has attained its liberty at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom. The Assembly have more hatred to the ancient system, than experience in the proper organization of a new and constitutional government. The ministers are lamenting their loss of power, and afraid to use that, which they have; and, as every thing has been destroyed, and not much of the new building is yet above ground, there is room for criticisms and calumnies. To this it may be added, that we still are pestered by two parties, the aristocratic, that is panting for a counter revolution, and the factious, which aims at the division of the empire and destruction of all authority, and perhaps of the lives of the reigning branch; both of which parties are fomenting troubles.

"After I have confessed all this, I will tell you with the same candor, that we have made an admirable and almost incredible destruction of all abuses and prejudices; that every thing not directly useful to, or coming from, the people has been levelled; that, in the topographical, moral, and political situation of France, we have made more changes in ten months, than the most sanguine patriots could have imagined; that our internal troubles and anarchy are much exaggerated; and that, upon the whole, this revolution, in which nothing will be wanting but energy of government as it was in America, will implant liberty and make it flourish throughout the world; while we must wait for a convention in a few years to mend some defects, which are not now perceived by men just escaped from aristocracy and despotism.

"Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key* of the fortress of

* The key of the Bastille, and the drawing here mentioned, are still preserved in the mansion-house at Mount Vernon.

despotism. It is a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aid-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriach."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF LAFAYETTE TO
WASHINGTON.

"Paris, June 6, 1791.

"I rejoice and glory in the happy situation of American affairs. I bless the restoration of your health, and wish I could congratulate you on your side of the Atlantic, but we are not in that state of tranquillity which may admit of my absence; the refugees hovering about the frontiers, intrigues in most of the despotic and aristocratic cabinets, our regular army divided into Tory officers and undisciplined soldiers, licentiousness among the people not easily repressed, the capital, that gives the tone to the empire, tossed about by anti-revolutionary or factious parties, the Assembly fatigued by hard labor, and very unmanageable. However, according to the popular motto, *Ca ira*, 'It will do.' We are introducing as fast as we can religious liberty. The Assembly has put an end to its existence by a new convocation; has unfitted its own members for immediate reëlection and for places in the executive; and is now reducing the constitution to a few principal articles, leaving the legislative assemblies to examine and mend the others, and preparing every thing for a convention as soon as our machine shall have had a fair trial. As to the surrounding governments, they hate our revolution, but do not know how to meddle with it, so afraid are they of *catching the plague*."

LAFAYETTE TO WASHINGTON.

"Paris, 15 March, 1792.

"MY DEAR GENERAL:—I have been called from the army to this capital for a conference between the two other generals, the ministers, and myself, and am about returning to my military post. The coalition between the continental powers respecting our affairs is certain, and will not be broken by the Emperor's death. But, although warlike preparations are going on, it is very doubtful whether our neighbours will attempt to stifle so very catching a thing as liberty.

"The danger for us lies in our state of anarchy, owing to the ignorance of the people, the number of non-proprietors, the

jealousy of every governing measure, all which inconveniences are worked up by designing men, or aristocrats in disguise, but both extremely tend to defeat our ideas of public order. Do not believe, however, the exaggerated accounts you may receive, particularly from England. That liberty and equality will be preserved in France, there is no doubt; in case there were, you well know that I would not, if they fall, survive them. But you may be assured, that we shall emerge from this unpleasant situation, either by an honorable defence, or by internal improvements. How far this constitution of ours insures a good government has not been as yet fairly experienced. This only we know, that it has restored to the people their rights, destroyed almost every abuse, and turned French vassalage and slavery into national dignity, and the enjoyment of those faculties, which nature has given and society ought to insure.

“Give me leave to you alone to offer an observation respecting the late choice of the American ambassador. You know I am personally a friend to Gouverneur Morris, and ever as a private man have been satisfied with him. But the aristocratic, and indeed counter-revolutionary principles he has professed, unfitted him to be the representative of the only nation, whose politics have a likeness to ours, since they are founded on the plan of a representative democracy. This I may add, that, surrounded with enemies as France is, it looks as if America was preparing for a change in this government; not only that kind of alteration, which the democrats may wish for and bring about, but the wild attempts of aristocracy, such as the restoration of a *noblesse*, a House of Lords, and such other political blemishes, which, while we live, cannot be reestablished in France. I wish we had an elective Senate, a more independent set of judges, and a more energetic administration; but the people must be taught the advantages of a firm government before they reconcile it to their ideas of freedom, and can distinguish it from the arbitrary systems, which they have just got over. You see, my dear General, I am not an enthusiast for every part of our constitution, although I love its principles, which are the same as those of the United States, except the hereditary character of the president of the executive, which I think suitable to our circumstances. But I hate every thing like despotism and aristocracy, and I cannot help wishing the American and French principles were in the heart and on the lips of the American ambassador in France. This I mention to you alone.

"There have been changes in the ministry. The King has chosen his council from the most violent popular party in the Jacobin club, a Jesuitic institution, more fit to make deserters from our cause than converts to it. The new ministers, however, being unsuspected, have a chance to restore public order, and say they will improve it. The Assembly are wild, uninformed, and too fond of popular applause; the King, slow and rather backward in his daily conduct, although now and then he acts full well; but upon the whole it will do, and the success of our revolution cannot be questioned.

"My command extends on the frontiers from Givet to Bitche. I have sixty thousand men, a number that is increasing now, as young men pour in from every part of the empire to fill up the regiments. This voluntary recruiting shows a most patriotic spirit. I am going to encamp thirty thousand men, with a detached corps, in an intrenched camp. The remainder will occupy the fortified places. The armies of Maréchals Luckner and Rochambeau are inferior to mine, because we have sent many regiments to the southward; but, in case we have a war to undertake, we may gather respectable forces.

"Our *émigrants* are beginning to come in. Their situation abroad is miserable, and, in case even we quarrel with our neighbours, they will be out of the question. Our paper money has been of late rising very fast. Manufactures of every kind are much employed. The farmer finds his cares alleviated, and will feel the more happy under our constitution, as the Assembly are going to give up their patronage of one set of priests. You see, that, although we have many causes to be as yet unsatisfied, we may hope every thing will by and by come right. Licentiousness, under the mask of patriotism, is our greatest evil, as it threatens property, tranquillity, and liberty itself. Adieu, my dear General. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me most affectionately to our friends, and think sometimes of your respectful, loving, and filial friend,

LAFAYETTE."

Lafayette was but eighteen years old in 1776, when he conceived the idea of coming to America to espouse the cause of the Colonies against Great Britain. The account of the dinner at Metz, where his interest and sympathy were first aroused by the conversation of the French and English officers, is familiar to all readers of the life of Lafayette; and all will remember his interview with Silas Deane in Paris and the many obstacles which he encountered previous to his secret sailing from Passage, in the spring of 1777, with Baron de Kalb and others, in the ship provided at his own

expense. He landed near Georgetown in South Carolina and was conveyed directly to Charleston. His interesting letter to his wife, written from Charleston, 19 June, 1777, giving his first impressions of America, should be read; it may be found in Sparks's edition of Washington's Writings, v. 451. The party immediately proceeded from Charleston to Philadelphia, and it was here that Lafayette first met Washington, who was warmly drawn to the gallant young man from the first and soon became his devoted friend. The story of that friendship, a friendship enduring, as warm on the one side as on the other, until Washington's death, is a part of history. The letters here given are not only expressions of that friendship but interesting chapters out of the great history which Washington and Lafayette helped to make in America and in France. Although the present leaflet is swelled to unusual dimensions, the student must remember that these letters are but a very few out of very many that passed between the two great men, all of which are worthy of careful attention.

The first letters belong to the trying time of Conway's Cabal and show the complete confidence which Washington and Lafayette reposed in each other. It was a few months after the date of these letters that Lafayette wrote to Baron Steuben :

"Permit me to express my satisfaction at your having seen General Washington. No enemies to that great man can be found, except among the enemies to his country; nor is it possible for any man of a noble spirit to refrain from loving the excellent qualities of his heart. I think I know him as well as any person, and such is the idea which I have formed of him. His honesty, his frankness, his sensibility, his virtue, to the full extent in which this word can be understood, are above all praise. It is not for me to judge of his military talents; but according to my imperfect knowledge of these matters, his advice in council has always appeared to me the best, although his modesty prevents him sometimes from sustaining it; and his predictions have generally been fulfilled. I am the more happy in giving you this opinion of my friend, with all the sincerity which I feel, because some persons may perhaps attempt to deceive you on this point."

In a letter to Lafayette, 25 September, 1778, on the eve of his first return to France, Washington writes :

"The sentiments of affection and attachment, which breathe so conspicuously in all your letters to me, are at once pleasing and honorable, and afford me abundant cause to rejoice at the happiness of my acquaintance with you. Your love of liberty, the just sense you entertain of this valuable blessing, and your noble and disinterested exertions in the cause of it, added to the innate goodness of your heart, conspire to render you dear to me; and I think myself happy in being linked with you in bonds of the strictest friendship. The ardent zeal which you have displayed during the whole course of the campaign to the eastward, and your endeavours to cherish harmony among the officers of the allied powers, and to dispel those unfavorable impressions which had begun to take place in the minds of the unthinking, from misfortunes which the utmost stretch of human foresight could not avert, deserves, and now receives, my particular and warmest thanks."

To Franklin, then in Paris, Washington immediately afterwards wrote of Lafayette as follows :

"The generous motives which first induced him to cross the Atlantic; the tribute which he paid to gallantry at the Brandywine; his success in Jersey before he had recovered from his wounds, in an affair where he com-

manded militia against British grenadiers; the brilliant retreat, by which he eluded a combined manœuvre of the whole British force in the last campaign; his services in the enterprise against Rhode Island — are such proofs of his zeal, military ardor, and talents, as have endeared him to America, and must greatly recommend him to his Prince. Coming with so many titles to claim your esteem, it were needless for any other purpose, than to indulge my own feelings, to add, that I have a very particular friendship for him; and that whatever services you may have it in your power to render him will confer an obligation on me.”

The letter from Lafayette in France, 12 June, 1779, here given, and Washington's reply, 30 Sept., 1779, afford pleasant glimpses into the domestic lives of the two men, as well as valuable comments upon the political situation. Lafayette came back to America and rendered valuable service down to the practical termination of the war by the capture of Cornwallis in 1781. Returning to France, Washington's letter of 5 April, 1783, shows that it was from him that Washington first had the news of the treaty of peace. This letter is also interesting as revealing a scheme of Lafayette's for the emancipation of the negroes in America. In 1784 Lafayette came to America again, visiting Washington at Mt. Vernon. The fond and sad letter from Washington, 8 December, 1784, here given, was written just as Lafayette was returning to France. Washington's foreboding that he should never again see Lafayette proved true.

Washington's letter of August 15, 1787, belongs to the time of the Constitutional Convention. The letters of April 28, 1788 (Washington's Writings, ix, 354), and June 18, 1788 (do., ix, 379), which followed, should be read for their valuable political passages. Lafayette's letter of March 17, 1790, here given, shows him in the midst of the exciting events of the French Revolution. Washington's answer to this may be found in Sparks's edition of his Writings, x, 105. Washington's last letter to Lafayette before the latter's imprisonment was dated Sept. 10, 1791. It concludes as follows:

“I sincerely wish that the affairs of your country were in such a train as would permit you to relax a little from the excessive fatigues to which you have of late been exposed; and I cannot help looking forward with an anxious wish, and a lively hope, to the time when peace and tranquillity will reign in your borders, under the sanction of a respectable government, founded on the broad basis of liberality and the rights of man. It must be so. The great Ruler of events will not permit the happiness of so many millions to be destroyed; and to his keeping I resign you, my dear Sir, with all that friendship and affectionate attachment, with which you know me to be, &c.”

Lafayette's last letter to Washington before his imprisonment was dated Paris, 15 March, 1792, and is included in the present leaflet. It is of the highest value for its observations upon the course of the French Revolution at that time, when events were rapidly hastening on toward the Reign of Terror. Washington's efforts for Lafayette's release appear from the correspondence in Sparks, vol. x; and his last letters to Lafayette are given in vol. xi.



Old South Leaflets.

SEVENTH SERIES, 1889.

No. 7.

The Declaration of Independence.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.— Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and *such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their*

former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States :

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent :

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by

Jury :

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies :

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose

character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay—SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island—STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut—ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York—WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey—RICHD. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania—ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA.

FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware—CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland—SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia—GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina—WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina—EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR., THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia—BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

JEFFERSON'S ORIGINAL DRAUGHT OF THE DECLARATION.

This copy of Jefferson's original draught of the Declaration of Independence, now in the State Department at Washington, is here given, for comparison with the document as finally passed. The parts struck out by Congress are inclosed in brackets and printed in italics, and the amendments are indicated at the bottom of the page.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with [*inherent and*]¹ inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights,

¹ *certain*

governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations [*begun at a distinguished period and*] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to [*expunge*]¹ their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of [*unremitting*]² injuries and usurpations, [*among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have*]³ in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world [*for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood*].

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly [*and continually*] for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

¹alter

²repeated

³all having

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has [*suffered*]¹ the administration of justice [*totally to cease in some of these States*]² refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made [*our*] judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, [*by a self-assumed power*] and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies [*and ships of war*] without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us []³ of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these [*States*]⁴; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

¹obstructed

²by

³in many cases

⁴Colonies

He has abdicated government here [*withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection*].¹

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy []² unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has []³ endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions [*of existence*].

[*He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property.*

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.]

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a []⁴ peo-

¹ by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

² scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally

³ excited domestic insurrection among us, and has

⁴ free

ple [who mean to be free. Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad and so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.]

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend [a]¹ jurisdiction over [these our States].² We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our Constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and,] we []³ appealed to their native justice and magnanimity [as well as to]⁴ the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which [were likely to]⁵ interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity, [and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them, and]⁶ acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our [eternal] separation []⁷!

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Con-

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Con-

¹ an unwarrantable

² us

³ have

⁴ and we have conjured them by

⁵ would inevitably

⁶ We must therefore

⁷ and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

gress assembled, appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

gress assembled, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these [*States reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people or parliament of Great Britain: and finally we do assert and declare these Colonies to be free and independent States,*] and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The original copy of the Declaration of Independence, signed at Philadelphia, is preserved at the Patent Office in Washington. It is not divided into paragraphs, but dashes are inserted. The arrangement of paragraphs here followed is that adopted by John Dunlap, who printed the Declaration for Congress — this printed copy being inserted in the original Journal of the old Congress. The same paragraphs are also made by Jefferson, in the original draught, preserved in the Department of State. The names of the signers are here spelled as in the original. The names of the states do not appear in the original. The names of the signers of each State are, however, grouped together, except the name of Matthew Thornton, which follows that of Oliver Wolcott.

A very full account of the circumstances immediately preceding the Declaration and leading up to it, with special reference to the part taken by Jefferson, is given in *Randall's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i, chaps. iv and v.

The discussion of the authorship of the Declaration, in the latter chapter, is particularly interesting and valuable. The following letter from Jefferson to Madison (August 30, 1823), which was drawn out by a very careless and faulty statement of the circumstances by John Adams, is undoubtedly the correct and sufficient word upon this subject:

"MONTICELLO, August 30, 1823.

DEAR SIR,—I received the enclosed letters from the President, with a request, that after perusal I would forward them to you, for perusal by yourself also, and to be returned then to him. You have doubtless seen Timothy Pickering's fourth of July observations on the Declaration of Independence. If his principles and prejudices, personal and political, gave us no reason to doubt whether he had truly quoted the information he alleges to have received from Mr. Adams, I should then say, that in some of the particulars, Mr. Adams' memory has led him into unquestionable error. At the age of eighty-eight, and forty-seven years after the transactions of Independence, this is not wonderful. Nor should I, at the age of eighty, on the small advantage of that difference only, venture to oppose my memory to his, were it not supported by written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot. He says, 'the committee of five, to wit, Dr. Franklin, Sherman, Livingston, and ourselves, met, discussed the subject, and then appointed him and myself to make the draught; that we, as a sub-committee, met, and after the urgencies of each on the other, I consented to undertake the task; that the draught being made, we, the sub-committee, met, and conned the paper over, and he does not remember that he made or suggested a single alteration.' Now these details are quite incorrect. The committee of five met; no such thing as a sub-committee was proposed, but they unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the committee, I communicated it *separately* to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, requesting their corrections, because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit, before presenting it to the committee; and you have seen the original paper now in my hands, with the corrections of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams interlined in their own hand writings. Their alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then wrote a fair copy, reported it to the committee, and from them, unaltered, to Congress. This personal communication and consultation with Mr. Adams, he has misremembered into the actings of a sub-committee. Pickering's observations, and Mr. Adams' in addition, 'that it contained no new ideas, that it is a common-place compilation, its sentiments hacknied in Congress for two years before, and its essence contained in Otis' pamphlet,' may all be true. Of that I am not to be the judge. Richard Henry Lee charged it as copied from Locke's treatise on government. Otis' pamphlet I never saw, and whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection I do not know. I know only that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it. I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether, and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before. Had Mr. Adams been so restrained, Congress would have lost the benefit of his bold and impressive advocations of the rights of Revolution. For no man's confident and fervid addresses, more than Mr. Adams', encouraged and supported us through the difficulties surrounding us, which, like the ceaseless action of gravity, weighed on us by night and by day. Yet, on the same ground, we may ask what of these elevated thoughts was new; or can be affirmed never before to have entered the conceptions of man? Whether, also, the sentiments of Independence, and the reasons for declaring it, which make so great a portion of the in-

strument, had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before the 4th of July, '76, or this dictum also of Mr. Adams be another slip of memory, let history say. This, however, I will say for Mr. Adams, that he supported the Declaration with zeal and ability, fighting fearlessly for every word of it. As to myself, I thought it a duty to be, on that occasion, a passive auditor of the opinions of others, more impartial judges than I could be, of its merits or demerits. During the debate I was sitting by Doctor Franklin, and he observed that I was writhing a little under the acrimonious criticisms on some of its parts; and it was on that occasion, that by way of comfort, he told me the story of John Thompson, the hatter, and his new sign. Timothy thinks the instrument the better for having a fourth of it expunged. He would have thought it still better, had the other three-fourths gone out also, all but the single sentiment (the only one he approves), which recommends friendship to his dear England, whenever she is willing to be at peace with us. His inuinations are, that although 'the high tone of the instrument was in unison with the warm feelings of the times, this sentiment of habitual friendship to England should never be forgotten, and that the duties it enjoins should *especially* be borne in mind on every celebration of this anniversary.' In other words, that the Declaration, as being a libel on the government of England, composed in times of passion, should now be buried in utter oblivion, to spare the feelings of our English friends and Anglomaniac fellow-citizens. But it is not to wound them that we wish to keep it in mind; but to cherish the principles of the instrument in the bosoms of our own citizens: and it is a heavenly comfort to see that these principles are yet so strongly felt, as to render a circumstance so trifling as this little lapse of memory of Mr. Adams', worthy of being solemnly announced and supported at an anniversary assemblage of the nation on its birthday. In opposition, however, to Mr. Pickering, I pray God that these principles may be eternal, and close the prayer with my affectionate wishes for yourself of long life, health and happiness."

A somewhat famous charge of want of originality, which has been brought against the Declaration of Independence, may here be noticed. A paper, styled

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

said to have been adopted by the Committee of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, May 20, 1775, the day after the receipt of the news of the battle of Lexington, was first published in the Raleigh (N. C.) Register, April 30, 1819. It was as follows, the phrases coinciding with those of the National Declaration being printed in italics:

"1. *Resolved*, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this Country — to America — and to the *inherent and inalienable rights* of man.

2. *Resolved*, That we the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby *dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country*, and hereby *absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown*, and *abjure all political connection*, contract, or association, with that Nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties — and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a *free and independent* people, *are, and of right ought to be*, a sovereign and self-governing Association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and

the General Government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly *pledge to each other*, our mutual coöperation, *our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor*.

4. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this County, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws — wherein, nevertheless, the Crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

5. *Resolved*, That it is also further decreed, that all, each and every military officer in this County, is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations, and that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz. a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a '*Committee-man*,' to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace, and union, and harmony, in said County, and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province."

This printed copy of the alleged Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, thus given to the public forty-four years after the event, was accompanied by a historical statement purporting to have been written at the time; and presently, much controversy arising, this statement was substantially confirmed by the affidavits of many old citizens of Mecklenburg who remembered such a declaration.

"How is it possible," wrote John Adams to Jefferson (June 22, 1819), "that this paper should have been concealed from me to this day? Had it been communicated to me in the time of it, I know, if you do not know, that it would have been printed in every whig newspaper upon the continent. You know that if I had possessed it, I would have made the hall of Congress echo and reëcho with it fifteen months before your Declaration of Independence. What a poor, ignorant, malicious, short-sighted, capricious mass is Tom Paine's '*Common Sense*' in comparison with this paper. Had I known it, I would have commented upon it from the day you entered Congress till the fourth of July, 1776. The genuine sense of America at that moment was never so well expressed before or since."

Jefferson's interesting reply (July 9, 1819) may be found in the complete edition of *Jefferson's Works*, vol. vii. p. 128, in *Randall's Life of Jefferson*, vol. iii, p. 572 (appendix No. 2, on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence), and elsewhere. He was an "unbeliever in the apocryphal gospel," believed the paper a fabrication "until positive and solemn proof of its authenticity be produced," and made it plain that the alleged declaration could not have been known to himself or to any influential person in the North, in 1776. As to the question of "plagiarism" on Jefferson's part, over which much controversy arose, a little examination would have shown that it was Richard Henry Lee, and not Jefferson, who was really responsible for the introduction of almost all the controverted phrases into the Declaration of Independence. The committee charged with the preparation of the Declaration had been instructed to draw it in conformity with the resolution passed by Congress on the 2d of July, 1776, which resolution, penned by Richard Henry Lee, was as follows: "*Resolved*, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, dissolved." The pledge of "our lives and fortunes" occurs constantly in the political literature of 1775 and 1776, and was one of the commonplaces of the time.

In 1838, Mr. Peter Force, the editor of the *American Archives*, brought to light what most scholars have since regarded as the solution of the matter, viz., a series of resolutions adopted by "the Committee-men" of Mecklenburg County on the 31st of May, 1775, and widely disseminated at the time both in southern and northern newspapers. These resolutions (given in Randall's appendix, and in Graham's and Welling's papers, referred to below) were a virtual declaration of independence, but differed essentially from the declaration alleged to have been drawn up eleven days previously. There may have been a meeting on the earlier day, and certain resolutions may then have been passed; but they were probably not in the terms of the paper which was given to the public in 1819 and which, whenever compiled by its author, was doubtless compiled not with the aid of any written records, but from general recollections, as we know to have been the case in another version, which appeared subsequently. A very thorough and searching article by James C. Welling, taking this position, which is also the position of Mr. Randall, appeared in the *North American Review* for April, 1874. The authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration is ably defended by Hon. William A. Graham, in an address delivered at Charlotte, N. C., February 4, 1875, and since published in book form. This address considers Mr. Welling's article and all the previous important literature on the subject.

"When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation — and it has been my favorite study — I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master states of the world — that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty, continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract. Let us retract while we can, not when we must. Avoid this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and happiness; for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede is obvious from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power. It reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. Every motive of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of parliament, and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures." — *Lord Chatham*.

"Whatever might be the importance of American independence in the history of England, it was of unequalled moment in the history of the world. If it crippled for a while the supremacy of the English nation, it founded *the supremacy of the English race*. From the hour of American Independ-

ence the life of the English People has flowed not in one current, but in two; and while the older has shown little signs of lessening, the younger has fast risen to a greatness which has changed the face of the world. In 1783 America was a nation of three millions of inhabitants, scattered thinly along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. It is now a nation of forty millions, stretching over the whole continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In wealth and material energy, as in numbers, it far surpasses the mother-country from which it sprang. It is already the main branch of the English People; and in the days that are at hand the main current of that people's history must run along the channel not of the Thames or the Mersey, but of the Hudson and the Mississippi. But distinct as these currents are, every year proves more clearly that in spirit the English People is one. The distance that parted England from America lessens every day. The ties that unite them grow every day stronger. The social and political differences that threatened a hundred years ago to form an impassable barrier between them grow every day less. Against this silent and inevitable drift of things the spirit of narrow isolation on either side of the Atlantic struggles in vain. It is possible that the two branches of the English People will remain for ever separate political existences. It is likely enough that the older of them may again break in twain, and that the English People in the Pacific may assert as distinct a national life as the two English Peoples on either side the Atlantic. But the spirit, the influence, of all these branches will remain one. And in thus remaining one, before half a century is over it will change the face of the world. As two hundred millions of Englishmen fill the valley of the Mississippi, as fifty millions of Englishmen assert their lordship over Australasia, this vast power will tell through Britain on the old world of Europe, whose nations will have shrunk into insignificance before it. What the issues of such a world-wide change may be, not even the wildest dreamer would dare to dream. But one issue is inevitable. In the centuries that lie before us, the primacy of the world will lie with the English People. English institutions, English speech, English thought, will become the main features of the political, the social, and the intellectual life of mankind." — *John Richard Green*. See chapter on the Independence of America, in his *History of the English People*.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

With Bibliographical and Historical Notes and Outlines for Study.

PREPARED BY EDWIN D. MEAD.

This Manual is published by the Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics, for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. The societies of young men and women now happily being organized everywhere in America for historical and political study can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House, or D. C. Heath & Co., 5 Somerset street, Boston.*

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No. 8.

Declaration of the Rights of Men.

BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE,
AUGUST 27, 1789.

The representatives of the French people, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the Rights of Men are the sole causes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have resolved to exhibit in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred Rights of Man, in order that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the Social Body, may incessantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the end, that the acts of the Legislative Power and those of the Executive Power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect; in order also, that the remonstrances of the citizens founded henceforward on simple and incontestible principles, may ever tend to maintain the Constitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reason, the National Assembly recognises, and declares, in the presence of and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Men and Citizens:

1. Men were born, and always continue, free and equal in respect to their rights; civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

2. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and the resistance of oppression.

3. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty;

nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

4. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights ; and these limits are determinable alone by the law.

5. The law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered ; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes ; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished ; and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law ought immediately to obey, and he renders himself culpable by resistance.

8. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary ; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9. Every man being presumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

10. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

11. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

12. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit

of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is intrusted.

13. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community according to their abilities.

14. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

15. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

17. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

When Lafayette, at the close of the American war, returned to Paris, he hung in a handsome frame upon one of the walls of his house a copy of the Declaration of Independence, leaving the corresponding space on the opposite wall vacant. "What do you design to place here?" asked one of his friends. "The Declaration of Rights for France," was his reply.

No man was more influential in the early months of the French Revolution than Lafayette. His intimate relation with the American republic, to which the liberals in France were looking as an actual realization of their dreams, was one great source of that influence. When Lafayette entered the Assembly of the States General in the summer of 1789, the hitherto unknown dignity of vice-president was created expressly to bestow it upon him. It was on the 11th of July, 1789, that he proposed in the Assembly that a declaration of the *rights of man* should be issued, on the American model. A long debate with much dissension followed, and there were many amendments; and it was not until the 27th of August that the famous *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, in the form in which it is known to history, was completed. It was preparatory to the work of forming the new constitution. Von Sybel devotes a special chapter to it in his *History of the French Revolution*, and the student can consult the other histories and the lives of Lafayette.

"I date the French Revolution," said the publicist Cerutti, "from the moment when M. de Lafayette in heroic flight rushed forth from our ports and, in a way, opened to the young soldiers of France the school of American liberty. It was there, as Mr. Jefferson has very well said, that our great battles were fought. In favoring the freedom of the thirteen United States, we have prepared our own. The valiant hands that served to break a tyrannic chain were not made to bear one a long time themselves."

Even before the eventful night of the 4th of August, the Assembly had taken under consideration a Declaration of the Rights of Man which was to

preface their Constitution. Lafayette was its leading advocate; those who had served in America were, almost without exception, in favor of it, and the idea itself was generally looked upon as of American origin. Some of the members urged its adoption before the draft of the Constitution; others thought the Declaration should not be issued until after the Constitution had been completed.

"I beg you to reflect," said Tollendal, "how enormous is the difference between an infant people which has just been announced to the world, a colonial people, that has broken the bonds of a distant government, and an ancient and mighty leading people that fourteen hundred years ago gave itself a form of government and which since eight centuries obeys the same dynastic line!" The Archbishop of Bordeaux supported Lafayette. "This noble idea," said he, "conceived in another hemisphere, necessarily and by preference came over to us. We have taken part in the events that have given North America its liberty, and North America shows us upon what principles we must insist in order to preserve our own."

Count Mathieu de Montmorency, who had fought for the liberty of the United States, desired, first of all, a Declaration like the one of Philadelphia. "It is important to declare the rights of man before the constitution, because the constitution is nothing but the sequence, the end of this Declaration. This is a truth which the example of America has rendered very plain. . . The United States have given a great example to the new hemisphere. Let us give it to the universe!"

Malouet thought that the oft-cited example of America was not pertinent and could not be followed in France. America, he argued, is a new country. Proprietors there are not only equal before the law, but little given to luxury, ignorant of the extremes of poverty, lightly taxed, free from prejudice, and possessors of land without a trace of feudality. Such men were made for a democracy, for declarations of rights such as you propose them. We are not.

Mirabeau was against making the Declaration too abstract and metaphysical. Speak in every-day language, he counseled, make your Declaration plain. "Thus the Americans have made their Declarations of Rights. They purposely set aside all scientific verbiage. They presented the truths which it was their purpose to fix, in a form that could be easily grasped by the people, whom alone liberty regards and who alone can maintain it."

Rabaut de Saint Etienne, a correspondent of Jefferson and one of the frequenters of his house, pronounced himself in favor of the Declaration, though with certain reservations. "The circumstances of France and America are different. America broke with a distant metropolis. America was a new country that destroyed all in order to renew all. And yet there is a point of resemblance between us. Like the Americans we wish to regenerate."

Lacretelle says in his "Histoire de l'Assemblée Constituante," "that while most of the generals and officers who had taken part in the American war followed the example of Mr. de Lafayette, the Marquis de Bouillé was eager only to deliver the king from the yoke of the Revolution." It was an exception therefore for a French Cincinnatus at that time to oppose the liberal tendencies of the epoch.

"The greatest part of the gentlemen democrats who abandoned their order in 1789, who joined the Commons, who proposed the Declaration of Rights, who directed the revolution against the *ancien régime* . . . had made their revolutionary studies in the United States." These are the words of Soulavie.—From Rosenthal's *America and France*.

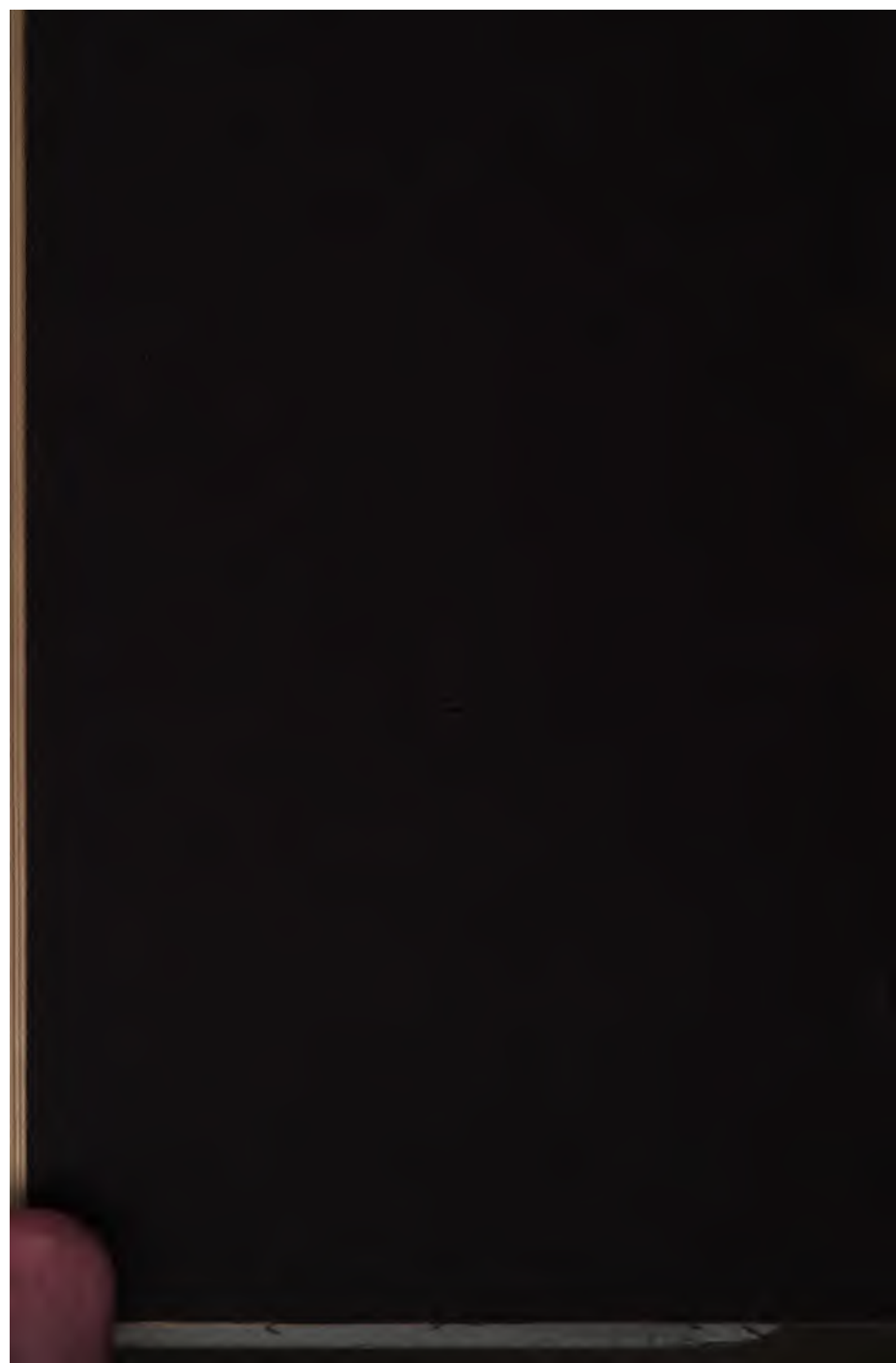


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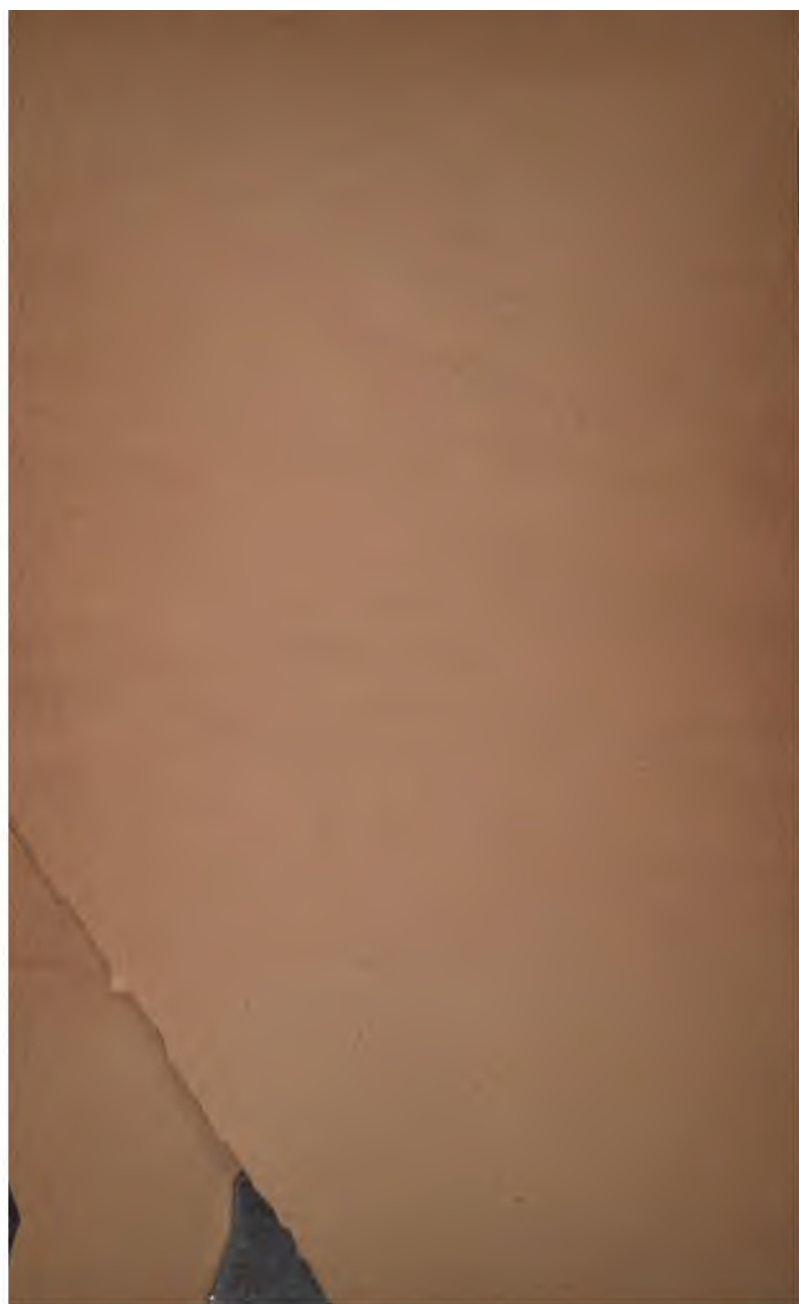
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EIGHTH SERIES,

1890.

BOSTON:
OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS are prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history, among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be permanently sustained in Boston and established with equal success in other cities of the country.

The Old South Lectures for 1883, intended to be strictly upon subjects in early Massachusetts History, but by certain necessities somewhat modified, were as follows: "Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Plymouth," by MRS. A. M. DIAZ. "Concord," by FRANK B. SANBORN. "The Town-Meeting," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Franklin, the Boston Boy," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "How to Study American History," by PROF. G. STANLEY HALL. "The Year 1777," by JOHN FISKE. "History in the Boston Streets," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared in connection with these lectures consisted of (1) Cotton Mather's account of Governor Bradford, from the "Magnalia"; (2) the account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod, from Bradford's Journal; (3) an extract from Emerson's Concord Address in 1835; (4) extracts from Emerson, Samuel Adams, De Tocqueville and others, upon the Town-Meeting; (5) a portion of Franklin's Autobiography; (6) Carlyle on the Study of History; (7) an extract from Charles Sumner's oration upon Lafayette, etc.; (8) Emerson's poem, "Boston."

The lectures for 1884 were devoted to men representative of certain epochs or ideas in the history of Boston, as follows: "Sir Harry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by EDWARD

CHANNING, PH.D. "The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for the Charter," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "Samuel Adams, and the Beginning of the Revolution," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by CHARLES W. SLACK. "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "John A. Andrew, the Great War Governor," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. The Leaflets prepared in connection with the second course were as follows: (1) Selections from Forster's essay on Vane, etc.; (2) an extract from Cotton Mather's "Sal Gentium"; (3) Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England"; (4) an original account of "The Revolution in New England" in 1689; (5) a letter from Samuel Adams to John Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.

The lectures for 1885 were upon "The War for the Union," as follows: "Slavery," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR. "The Fall of Sumter," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. "The Monitor and the Merrimac," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "The Battle of Gettysburg," by COL. THEODORE A. DODGE. "Sherman's March to the Sea," by GEN. WILLIAM COGSWELL. "The Sanitary Commission," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Abraham Lincoln," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "General Grant," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. The Leaflets accompanying these lectures were as follows: (1) Lowell's "Present Crisis," and Garrison's Salutory in the *Liberator* of January 1, 1831; (2) extract from Henry Ward Beecher's oration at Fort Sumter in 1865; (3) contemporary newspaper accounts of the engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimac; (4) extract from Edward Everett's address at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, with President Lincoln's address; (5) extract from General Sherman's account of the March to the Sea, in his Memoirs; (6) Lowell's "Commemoration Ode"; (7) extract from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Second Inaugural Address; (8) account of the service in memory of General Grant, in Westminster Abbey, with Archdeacon Farrar's address.

The lectures for 1886 were upon "The War for Independence," as follows: "Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Bunker Hill, and the News in England," by JOHN FISKE. "The Declaration of Independence," by JAMES MACALISTER. "The Times that Tried Men's Souls," by ALBERT B. HART, PH.D. "Lafayette, and Help from France," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Women of the Revolution," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Washington and his Generals," by *GEORGE M. TOWLE*. "The Lessons of the Revolution for these

Times," by REV. BROOKE HERFORD. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Words of Patrick Henry; (2) Lord Chatham's Speech, urging the removal of the British troops from Boston; (3) extract from Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson; (4) Thomas Paine's "Crisis," No. 1; (5) extract from Edward Everett's eulogy on Lafayette; (6) selections from the Letters of Abigail Adams; (7) Lowell's "Under the Old Elm"; (8) extract from Whipple's essay on "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

The course for the summer of 1887 was upon "The Birth of the Nation," as follows: "How the Men of the English Commonwealth Planned Constitutions," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "How the American Colonies Grew Together," by JOHN FISKE. "The Confusion after the Revolution," by DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D. "The Convention and the Constitution," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "James Madison and his Journal," by PROF. E. B. ANDREWS. "How Patrick Henry Opposed the Constitution," by HENRY L. SOUTHWICK. "Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist*," "Washington's Part and the Nation's First Years," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared for these lectures were as follows: (1) Extract from Edward Everett Hale's lecture on "Puritan Politics in England and New England"; (2) "The English Colonies in America," extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"; (3) Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, on Disbanding the Army; (4) The Constitution of the United States; (5) "The Last Day of the Constitutional Convention," from Madison's Journal; (6) Patrick Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) The *Federalist*, No. IX; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.

The course for the summer of 1888 had the general title of "The Story of the Centuries," the several lectures being as follows: "The Great Schools after the Dark Ages," by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of History in Harvard University. "Richard the Lion-Hearted and the Crusades," by MISS NINA MOORE, author of "Pilgrims and Puritans." "The World which Dante knew," by SHATTUCK O. HARTWELL, Old South first-prize essayist, 1883. "The Morning-Star of the Reformation," by REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM. "Copernicus and Columbus, or the New Heaven and the New Earth," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote," by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. "The Puritans and the English Revolution," by CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Professor of History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Lafayette and the Two Revolutions which he saw," by GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But this object is liberally construed, and a constant aim is to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general

European history, and our indebtedness to the long past. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889 and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures, the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful.— 11th Century: Lanfranc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died, 1089. 12th Cent.: Richard I crowned, 1189. 13th Cent.: Dante at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, 1289. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, 1384. 15th Cent.: America discovered, 1492. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, 1588. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, 1688. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastille fell, 1789. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's *History of the English People*. (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf. (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia*. (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation. (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's *Cosmos*. (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's *Annals*. (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689. (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal Government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by REV. W. E. GRIFFIS. "The Jesuit Missionaries in America," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Wolfe and Montcalm: the Struggle of England and France for the Continent," by JOHN FISKE. "Franklin in France," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette," by MRS. ABBA GOOLD WOOLSON. "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase," by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Old South prize essayist, 1888. "The Year 1789," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets for

the year were as follows: (1) Verrazzano's Account of his Voyage to America; (2) Marquette's Account of his Discovery of the Mississippi; (3) Mr. Parkman's Histories; (4) The Capture of Quebec, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; (5) Selections from Franklin's Letters from France; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) The Declaration of Independence; (8) The French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.

The lectures for the summer of 1890 were on "The American Indians," as follows: "The Mound Builders," by PROF. GEORGE H. PERKINS; "The Indians whom our Fathers Found," by GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON; "John Eliot and his Indian Bible," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "King Philip's War," by MISS CAROLINE C. STECKER, Old South prize essayist, 1889; "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," by CHARLES A. EASTMAN, M.D., of the Sioux nation; "A Century of Dishonor," by HERBERT WELSH; "Among the Zunis," by J. WALTER FEWKES, Ph.D.; "The Indian at School," by GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG. The leaflets were as follows: (1) Extract from address by William Henry Harrison on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley; (2) Extract from Morton's "New English Canaan" on the Manners and Customs of the Indians; (3) John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," 1670; (4) Extract from Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (1677) on the Beginning of King Philip's War; (5) The Speech of Pontiac at the Council at the River Ecorces, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; (6) Extract from Black Hawk's autobiography, on the Cause of the Black Hawk War; (7) Coronado's Letter to Mendoza (1540) on his Explorations in New Mexico; (8) Eleazer Wheelock's Narrative (1762) of the Rise and Progress of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn.

The Leaflets for 1883 are now mostly out of print. Those for 1884 and subsequent years, uniformly bound in flexible cloth covers, may be procured ~~for twenty cents per volume~~. The volumes for the later years may also be had bound in paper, at the same price.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published, during the last eight years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the Directors have entered upon the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Schools and the trade will be supplied by Messrs.

D. C. Heath & Co. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics, and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such Leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of this *general series* of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first twenty-two numbers, which are now ready.

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio.* 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. 18. The Constitution of Switzerland.* 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics have also published a Manual of the Constitution of the United States, with bibliographical and historical notes and outlines for study, by Edwin D. Mead. This manual is published for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. Our societies of young men and women entering upon historical and political studies can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House*.

* Double number, price ten cents.

*Old South Meeting House,
Boston, 1890.*



Old South Leaflets.

EIGHTH SERIES, 1890.

No 1.

The Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley.

BY WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

An extract from a discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio, before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, published in the Transactions of the Society, 1839.

No opinion has been more generally entertained in every civilized community than that which asserts the importance of the study of history as a branch of education. And although there are few, if any, who would controvert this proposition, it will scarcely be denied that there is no study at this day so much neglected. We everywhere meet with men possessed of much intelligence, great scientific attainments, high standing in those professions which require profound study and deep research, who have neglected to inform themselves, not only of the circumstances which influenced the rise and progress, the decline and fall, of the most celebrated nations of antiquity, but who are extremely deficient in the knowledge of the history of their own country. If we search for the causes which have produced this state of things, one, perhaps the most efficient, will be found in the great increase of works of fiction, and the fascinating character with which they have been clothed by the great geniuses who have been employed upon them. It is the perusal of these which occupies the attention of the wealthy and fills the leisure moments of the man of business.

I am loath to give another reason for this decline in the taste for historical reading because it indicates, also, a decline in patriotism. I allude to the inordinate desire for the accumulation of riches, which has so rapidly increased in our country, and which, if not arrested, will ere long effect a deplorable change in the character of our countrymen. This basest of

passions, this "meanest of amors," could not exhibit itself in a way to be more destructive of republican principles than by exerting an influence on the course of education adopted for our youth. The effects upon the moral condition of the nation would be like those which would be produced upon the verdant valley of our state if some quality inimical to vegetable life were to be imparted to the sources of the magnificent river by which it is adorned and fertilized.

It is in youth, and in early youth, that the seeds of that patriotism must be sown which is to continue to bloom through life. No one ever began to be a patriot in advanced age; that holy fire must be lighted up when the mind is best suited to receive, with enthusiasm, generous and disinterested impressions. If it is not then the "ruling passion" of the bosom, it will never be at an age when every action is the result of cool calculation, and the basis of that calculation too often the interest of the individual. This has been the prevailing opinion with every free people throughout every stage of civilization, from the roving savage tribe to the numerous and polished nation; from the barbarous Pelasgi to the glorious era of Miltiades and Cimon, or the more refined and luxurious age of Pericles and Xenophon. By all, the same means were adopted. With all, it was the custom to present to their youth the examples of the heroic achievements of their ancestors, to inspire them with the same ardor of devotion to the welfare of their country. As it regards the argument, it matters not whether the history was written or unwritten, whether in verse or prose, or how communicated; whether by national annals, to which all had access; by recitations in solemn assemblies, as at the Olympic and other games of Greece; in the songs of bards, as amongst the Celts and Scandinavians; or in the speeches of the aged warriors, as was practised by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, and other tribes of our own country. Much fiction was, no doubt, passed off on these occasions as real history; but as it was believed to be true, that was sufficient to kindle the spirit of emulation in the cause of patriotism among those to whom these recitations, songs, and speeches were addressed.

If I truly estimate the value of a knowledge of history by the citizens of a republic, you will unite with me in deploring the existence of any circumstances which would have a tendency to supercede or lessen the attention which was once paid to it in our seminaries of learning, and more especially if one of the causes should be found in the increasing love of riches, rendering our youth impatient of studies which are not essential to

enable them to enter upon the professional career which they have chosen as the means of obtaining that wealth which is so universally sought after.

As your association was formed for the purpose of procuring and preserving materials for the history of our own state, rather than to encourage attention to that of other countries, these remarks may be considered a digression; I shall, therefore, add nothing more on that subject, but proceed to present to you some notices and remarks more in accordance with the wishes expressed in your invitation to prepare this paper.

It is somewhat remarkable that Ohio, admitted into the Union before either of the other north-western states, so far ahead of either in point of population, and having its position precisely intermediate between them and the European colonies, from whence the emigration to all of them came, should have been the last that was settled.

Fifty-five years ago there was not a Christian inhabitant within the bounds which now compose the state of Ohio. And if, a few years anterior to that period, a traveler had been passing down the magnificent river which forms our southern boundary, he might not have seen in its whole course of eleven hundred miles a single human being—certainly not a habitation, nor the vestige of one, calculated for the residence of man. He might, indeed, have seen indications that it was not always thus. His eye might have rested on some stupendous mound, or lengthened lines of ramparts and traverses of earth, still of considerable elevation, which proved that the country had once been possessed by a numerous and laborious people. But he would have seen, also, indubitable evidences that centuries had passed away since these remains had been occupied by those for whose use they had been reared. Whilst ruminating upon the causes which had occasioned their removal, he would not fail to arrive at the conclusion that their departure (if they did depart) must have been a matter of necessity; for no people, in any stage of civilization, would willingly have abandoned *such a country*, endeared to them, as it must have been, by long residence and the labor they had bestowed upon it. Unless, like the descendants of Abraham, they had fled from the face of a tyrant and the oppressions of unfeeling task-masters. If they had been made to yield to a more numerous or more gallant people, what country had received the fugitives? and what has become of the conquerors? Had they, too, been forced to fly before a new swarm from some northern or southern hive? Still would the question recur, what had been their fate? And

why had so large a portion of country, so beautiful and inviting, so abounding in all that is desirable, in the rudest as well as the most advanced state of society, been left as a haunt for the beasts of the forest, or as an occasional arena for distant tribes of savages to mingle in mortal conflicts? To aid us in coming to anything like a satisfactory conclusion in answer to those questions, we possess only a solitary recorded fact. For everything else we must search amidst the remains which are still before us for all that we wish to know of the history and character of this ancient and nameless people. And although the result of such an examination may be far from satisfactory, it will not be entirely barren of information. We learn first, from the extensive country covered by their remains, that they were a numerous people. Secondly, that they were congregated in considerable cities, from the extensive works with which several favorite situations are covered. Thirdly, that they were essentially an agricultural people; because, collected as they were in great numbers, they could have depended upon the chase but for a small portion of their subsistence; and there is no reason to believe that they were in the possession of domestic animals, as the only one known to the American continent before the arrival of the Europeans (the lama of Peru) was unsuited by nature to endure the rigors of a winter in this latitude. The impossibility of assigning any other purpose to which the greater number, and many of the largest of these remains could be applied, together with other appearances scarcely to be misunderstood, confirm the fact that they possessed a national religion, in the celebration of which all that was pompous, gorgeous, and imposing that a semi-barbarous nation could devise, was brought into occasional display; that there were a numerous priesthood, and altars often smoking with hecatombs of victims. These same circumstances also indicate that they had made no inconsiderable progress in the art of building, and that their habitations had been ample and convenient, if not neat or splendid. Man in every age and nation has provided for his own defence against the elements before he even designates any peculiar spot for the worship of his God. In rigorous climates the hut will always precede the uncovered altar of earth or stone, and the well built city before the temple is made to shoot its spires to the skies.

Thus much do these ancient remains furnish us as to the *condition* and character of the people who erected them. I have *persuaded* myself that I have gleaned from them, also, some *interesting facts in their history*. It may, however, be proper

first to remark, that the solitary *recorded* fact to which I have alluded to enable us to determine their ultimate fate, is that which has been furnished to us by the historians of Mexico.

The pictural records of that nation ascribe their origin to the Astecks. a people who are said to have arrived first in Mexico about the middle of the seventh century. An American author, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Madison, of Virginia, having with much labor investigated this subject, declares his conviction that these Astecks are one and the same people with those who once inhabited the valley of the Ohio. The probabilities are certainly in favor of this opinion. Adopting it, therefore, and knowing by it the date of their arrival on the north-west frontier of Mexico, we refer again to the works they have left us to gain what knowledge we can of the cause and manner of their leaving the Ohio valley. For the reasons formerly stated, I assume the fact that they were compelled to fly from a more numerous or more gallant people. No doubt the contest was long and bloody, and that the country, so long their residence, was not abandoned to their rivals until their numbers were too much reduced to continue the contest. Taking into consideration all the circumstances which can be collected from the works they have left on the ground, I have come to the conclusion that these people were assailed both from their northern and southern frontier; made to recede from both directions, and that their last effort at resistance was made on the banks of the Ohio. I have adopted this opinion from the different character of their works, which are there found, from those in the interior. Great as some of the latter are, and laborious as was the construction, particularly those of Circleville and Newark, I am persuaded they were never intended for military defences. On the contrary, those upon the Ohio river were evidently designed for that purpose. The three that I have examined, those of Marietta, Cincinnati, and the mouth of the great Miami, particularly the latter, have a military character stamped upon them which cannot be mistaken. The latter work, and that at Circleville, never could have been erected by the same people, if intended for military purposes. The square, at the latter place, has such a number of gateways as seem intended to facilitate the entrance of those who would attack it. And both it and the circle were completely commanded by the mound, rendering it an easier matter to take, than defend it. The engineers, on the contrary, who directed the execution of the Miami works, appear to have known the importance of flank defences. And if their *bastions* are not as perfect, as to form, as those which are in use

in modern engineering, their position, as well as that of the long lines of curtains, are precisely as they should be. I have another conjecture as to this Miami fortress. If the people of whom we have been speaking were really the Astecks, the direct course of their journey to Mexico, and the facilities which that mode of retreat would afford, seems to point out the descent of the Ohio as the line of that retreat.

This position, then (the lowest which they appear to have fortified on the Ohio), strong by nature, and improved by the expenditure of great labor, directed by no inconsiderable degree of skill, would be the last hold they would occupy and the scene of their last efforts to retain possession of the country they had so long inhabited. The interest which every one feels who visits this beautiful and commanding spot would be greatly heightened if he could persuade himself of the reasonableness of my deductions from the facts I have stated. That this elevated ridge, from which are now to be seen flourishing villages and plains of unrivalled fertility, possessed by a people in the full enjoyment of peace and liberty, and all that peace and liberty can give, whose matrons, like those of Sparta, have never seen the smoke of an enemy's fire, once presented a scene of war, and war in its most horrid form, where blood is the object, and the deficiencies of the field made up by the slaughter of innocence and imbecility. That it was here that a feeble band was collected, "remnant of mighty battles fought in vain," to make a last effort for the country of their birth, the ashes of their ancestors, and the altars of their gods. That the crisis was met with fortitude, and sustained with valor, need not be doubted. The ancestors of Quitlavaca and Gautimosin, and their devoted followers, could not be cowards. But their efforts were vain, and flight or death were the sad alternatives. Whatever might be their object in adopting the former, whether, like the Trojan remnant, to seek another country "and happier walls," or like that of Ithome, to procure present safety and renovated strength for a distant day of vengeance, we have no means of ascertaining. But there is every reason to believe that they were the founders of a great empire, and that ages before they assumed the more modern and distinguished name of Mexicans, the Astecks had lost in the more mild and uniform climate of Anhuac all remembrance of the banks of the Ohio. But whatever may have been their fate, our peculiar interest in *them ceases after their departure from the Miami*. In relation *to their conquerors I have little to say, and, perhaps, that*

little not very satisfactory. Although I deny the occupation of the banks of the Ohio for centuries before its discovery by the Europeans, I think that there are indubitable marks of its being thickly inhabited by a race of men, inferior to the authors of the great works we have been considering, after the departure of the latter. Upon many places remains of pottery, pipes, stone hatchets, and other articles, are found in great abundance, which are evidently of inferior workmanship to those of the former people. But I have one other fact to offer, which furnishes still better evidence of my opinion. I have before mentioned Cincinnati as one of the positions occupied by the more civilized people. When I first saw the upper plain on which that city stands, it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had the honor to attend General Wayne, two years afterwards, in an excursion to examine them. We were employed the greater part of a day, in August, 1793, in doing so. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn was almost endless, and, as I have said, almost covered the plain. Many so faint, indeed, as scarcely to be followed, and often for a considerable distance entirely obliterated, but by careful examination, and following the direction, they could be again found. Now, if these lines were ever of the height of the others made by the same people (and they must have been to have answered any valuable purpose), or unless their erection was many ages anterior to the others, there must have been some other cause than the attrition of the rain (for it is a dead level) to bring them down to their then state. That cause I take to have been continued cultivation. And as the people who erected them would not themselves destroy works which had cost them so much labor, the solution of the question can only be found in the long occupancy and cultivation of another people, and the probability is that that people were the conquerors of the original possessors. To the question of the fate of the former, and the cause of no recent vestige of settlements being found on the Ohio, I can offer only a conjecture, but one which appears to me to be far from improbable. Since the first settlement of the Ohio by the whites, they have been visited by two unusually destructive freshets, one in 1793 and the other in 1832. The latter was from five to seven feet higher than the former. The latter was produced by a simultaneous fall of rain upon an unusually extensive frozen surface. The learned Dr. Locke, of Cincinnati, calculated the number of inches of rain that fell and, as far as it could be ascertained,

the extent of surface which was subjected to it, and his conclusion was that the height of the water at Cincinnati did not account, after allowing for evaporation, etc., for all the water that fell. In other words, that with the same fall of rain, other circumstances concurring, the freshet might have been some feet higher. Now these causes might have combined at another time to pour the waters of the tributary streams into the main trunk more nearly together, and thus produce a height of water equal to that described by an Indian chief (to which he said he was an eye witness) to General Wilkinson, at Cincinnati, in the fall of 1792. And which, if true, must have been several feet (eight or ten), at least, higher than that of 1832. The occurrence of such a flood, when the banks of the Ohio were occupied by numerous Indian towns and villages, nearly all which must have been swept off, was well calculated to determine them to a removal, not only from actual suffering, but from the suggestions of superstition; an occurrence so unusual being construed into a warning from heaven to seek a residence upon the smaller streams. Before the remembrance of these events had been obliterated by time, the abandoned region would become an unusual resort for game and a common hunting ground for the hostile tribes of the north and south, and, of course, an arena for battle. Thus it remained when it was first visited by the whites.

EXTRACTS FROM JEFFERSON'S "NOTES ON VIRGINIA,"

1787.

I know of no such thing existing as an Indian monument; for I would not honour with that name arrow points, stone hatchets, stone pipes, and half-shapen images. Of labour on the large scale, I think there is no remain as respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands, unless indeed it would be the Barrows, of which many are to be found all over this country. These are of different sizes, some of them constructed of earth, and some of loose stones. That they were repositories of the dead has been obvious to all; but on what particular occasion constructed was a matter of doubt. Some have thought they covered the bones of those who have fallen in battles fought on the spot of interment. Some ascribed them to the custom said to prevail among the Indians of collecting, at certain periods, the bones of all their dead, wheresoever deposited at the time of death. Others again supposed them the general sepulchres for towns, conjectured to have been on or near these grounds; and *this opinion was supported by the quality of the lands in which they are found (those constructed of earth being generally in the softest*

and most fertile meadow-grounds on river sides) and by a tradition said to be handed down from the aboriginal Indians that, when they settled in a town, the first person who died was placed erect and earth put about him, so as to cover and support him; that when another died, a narrow passage was dug to the first, the second reclined against him, and the cover of earth replaced, and so on. There being one of these in my neighbourhood, I wished to satisfy myself whether any, and which of these opinions, were just. For this purpose I determined to open and examine it thoroughly. [Here follows account of the examination.]

Great question has arisen from whence came those aboriginals of America? Discoveries, long ago made, were sufficient to show that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times. In going from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Greenland, from Greenland to Labrador, the first trajet is the widest; and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajets may have been sometimes passed. Again, the late discoveries of Captain Cook, coasting from Kamschatka to California, have proved that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow streight. So that from this side, also, inhabitants may have passed into America; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia would induce us to conjecture that the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former: excepting indeed, the Eskimaux, who, from the same circumstance of resemblance, and from identity of language, must be derived from the Greenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent. A knowledge of their several languages would be the most certain evidence of their derivation which could be produced. In fact, it is the best proof of the affinity of nations which ever can be referred to. How many ages have elapsed since the English, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swiss, the Norwegians, Danes and Swedes have separated from their common flock? Yet how many more must elapse before the proofs of their common origin, which exist in their several languages, will disappear? It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature the general rudiments, at least, of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature, of those which must be present to every nation, barbarous or civilized, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of reigmen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the old world to compare them with these now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race.

But imperfect as is our knowledge of the tongues spoken in America, it suffices to discover the following remarkable fact. Arranging them under the radical ones to which they may be palpably traced, and doing the same by those of the red men of Asia, there will be found probably twenty in America for one in Asia of those radical languages, so called because, if they were ever the same, they have lost all resemblance to one another. A separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, but for two dialects to recede from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin must require an immense course of time; perhaps not less than many people give to the age of the earth. A greater number of those radical changes of language having taken place among the red men of America, proves them of greater antiquity than those of Asia.

The preceding extracts from the writings of two presidents of the United States—although both belong to dates before the writers became president—are to be read more for their historical than for their strictly scientific value, although both were abreast of the best science of their times. To Mr. Harrison's paper was appended a long note on the question of the relation of the mound-builders to the Aztecs.

The discussion of the origin and nature of the American aborigines began in England as early as 1578, when Wm. Bourne devoted a section of his *Booke called the Treasure for Travellers*, published that year in London, to the subject of "The Peopling of America." Spanish writers, Herrera, Torquemada and others, had touched the subject earlier. Gregorio Garcíá, who was a missionary for twenty years in South America, published a book on the *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo*, at Valencia, in 1607, in which he held that the Indians were descended from Tartars and Chinese who migrated hither. Most of the early New England fathers held that they were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, and this doctrine has found occasional defenders down to our own time, giving birth to many curious books. The student should see such old books as Thorowgood's *Jews in America* (1650) and Adair's *American Indians* (1775) and also President Stiles's famous sermon before the Connecticut Assembly in 1783, on *The United States elevated to Glory and Honor*. Thomas Morton, he of Merry Mount, in his famous *New English Canaan* (1637), found the aboriginal source in "the scattered Trojans, after such time as Brutus departed from Latium,"—but one is never quite sure where Morton is in earnest. The principal early controversy grew out of a pamphlet by the famous Hugo Grotius, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*, published in 1642. Grotius argued that all North America except Yucatan, which he held had an *Ethiopian stock*, was peopled from Scandinavia, and that the Peruvians

were from China. His principal antagonist, Johannes de Laet, held that the Scythian race had chiefly furnished the population for America. Grotius's pamphlet has been translated, *On the Origin of the Native Races of America*, but the translation is not accurate.

The first American to discuss the question in a really scientific manner was Benjamin Smith Barton, a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. His *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America*, published at Philadelphia in 1797, was dedicated to Jefferson, to whom he pays high tribute as having greater interest in the subject and greater knowledge about it than any other American of the time. His own view was that the Americans were descended from Asiatic peoples. Since Barton's time the literature of the subject has grown to enormous dimensions. The fullest accounts of this literature and of the progress of opinion respecting the origin and antiquity of man in America are those by Haven in his *Archæology of the United States* (*Smithsonian Contributions*, viii, 1856), by Bancroft in his *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, vol. v, chap. 1, and by Justin Winsor in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. i. See also Drake's *Book of the Indians*, chap. 2, and Short, chap. 3.

De Soto noticed the works of the mound-builders as early as 1540, the tradition which he found being that they were built by the same races which he encountered. Other Spanish explorers and French missionaries noticed them, but Kalm, the Swede, in 1749, and the missionary, David Jones, in 1772, were the first to say anything of account concerning them. As late as 1786, Franklin thought that the works at Marietta might have been built by De Soto; and Noah Webster assented. The observations of Manasseh Cutler, a little later, upon the works in the Marietta neighborhood are of value. De Witt Clinton, in 1817, held the mounds in the State of New York to have been built by the Scandinavians. It was Caleb Atwater of Ohio who, by his careful descriptions of the mounds in Ohio and other Western States, published in the collections of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester in 1820, gave the great impulse to researches in this field. He expressed a belief in the Asiatic-origin of the mound-builders, and that they subsequently migrated south and laid the foundations of the Mexican and Peruvian civilizations. Nothing important was added to the work of Atwater until Squier and Davis, in 1847, commenced the publication, in the *Smithsonian Contributions*, of the results of their remarkable explorations. Of the later works by Whittlesey, Lapham, Putnam, Powell, and others the student can learn from Winsor and the other authorities mentioned above. The chapter on the Works of the Mound-Builders (chapter 13) in Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iv, is valuable. A good popular book, although not one of the latest, is Baldwin's *Ancient America*. There have been recent valuable articles in the magazines, by Professor Putnam and others, which will perhaps be as useful as anything for the general reader.

Until recently the popular theory concerning the mound-builders was that they were in some way connected with the more Southern people, the Pueblos, the Aztecs, or the Peruvians. The theory that they were the ancestors of our red Indians now has the support of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The Old South Leaflets which have been published during the last five years in connection with the annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House in Boston have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the Directors of the Old South Studies have entered upon the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs and classes especially in mind. These Leaflets are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics, and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such Leaflets as those now proposed. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Schools and the trade will be supplied by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. Some idea of the character of the series may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first nineteen numbers, which are now ready :

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Old South Leaflets.

EIGHTH SERIES, 1890. No. 2.

Manners and Customs of the Indians.

By THOMAS MORTON.

AN EXTRACT FROM HIS "NEW ENGLISH CANAAN," 1637.

Of their Houses and Habitations.

THE Natives of New England are accustomed to build them houses much like the wild Irish; they gather Poles in the woodes and put the great end of them in the ground, placing them in forme of a circle or circumference, and, bending the topps of them in forme of an Arch, they bind them together with the Barke of Walnut trees, which is wondrous tuffe, so that they make the same round on the Topp for the smooke of their fire to assend and passe through; these they cover with mats, some made of reeds and some of longe flagges, or sedge, finely sowed together with needles made of the splinter bones of a Cranes legge, with threeds made of their Indian hempe, which their groueth naturally, leaving severall places for dores, which are covered with mats, which may be rowled up and let downe againe at their pleasures, making use of the severall dores, according as the winde fitts. The fire is alwayes made in the middest of the house, with winde fals commonly: yet some times they fell a tree that groweth neere the house, and, by drawing in the end thereof, maintaine the fire on both sides, burning the tree by Degrees shorter and shorter, untill it be all consumed; for it burneth night and day. Their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire; they lye upon planks, commonly about a foote or 18. inches about the ground, raised upon railes that are borne up upon forks; they lay mats under them, and Coats of Deares skinnes, otters, beavers, Racownes, and

of Beares hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good lether, with the haire on, for their coverings: and in this manner they lye as warme as they desire. In the night they take their rest; in the day time either the kettle is on with fish or flesh, by no allowance, or else the fire is employed in roasting of fishes, which they delight in. The aire doeth beget good stomacks, and they feede continually, and are no niggards of their vittels; for they are willing that any one shall eate with them. Nay, if any one that shall come into their houses and there fall a sleepe, when they see him disposed to lye downe, they will spread a matt for him of their owne accord, and lay a roule of skinned for a boulder, and let him lye. If hee sleepe untill their meate be dished up, they will set a wooden boule of meate by him that sleepe, and wake him saying, Cattup keene Meekin: That is, If you be hungry, there is meat for you, where if you will eate you may. Such is their Humanity.

Likewise, when they are minded to remove, they carry away the mats with them; other materials the place adjoining will yeald. They use not to winter and summer in one place, for that would be a reason to make fuel scarce; but, after the manner of the gentry of Civilized natives, remove for their pleasures; some times to their hunting places, where they remaine keeping good hospitality for that season; and sometimes to their fishing places, where they abide for that season likewise; and at the spring, when fish comes in plentifully, they have meetings from severall places, where they exercise themselves in gaminge and playing of juggling tricke and all manner of Revelles, which they are delighted in; [so] that it is admirable to behold what pastime they use of severall kinds, every one striving to surpass each other. After this manner they spend their time.

Of the Indians apparrell.

THE Indians in these parts do make their apparrell of the skinned of severall sortes of beastes, and commonly of those that doe frequent those partes where they doe live; yet some of them, for variety, will have the skinned of such beasts that frequent the partes of their neighbors, which they purchase of them by Commerce and Trade.

These skinned they convert into very good lether, making the same plume and soft. Some of these skinned they dresse with the haire on, and some with the haire off; the hairy side in winter time they weare next their bodies, and in warme weather

they weare the haire outwards: they make likewise some Coates of the Feathers of Turkies, which they weave together with twine of their owne makinge, very prittily: these garments they weare like mantels knit over their shoulders, and put under their arme; they have likewise another sort of mantels, made of Mose skinnes, which beast is a great large Deere so bigge as a horse; these skinnes they commonly dresse bare, and make them wondrous white, and stripe them with size round about the borders, in forme like lace set on by a Taylor, and some they stripe with size in workes of severall fashions very curious, according to the severall fantasies of the workemen, wherein they strive to excell one another: And Mantels made of Beares skinnes is an usuall wearinge, among the Natives that live where the Beares doe haunt: they make shooes of Mose skinnes, which is the principall leather used to that purpose; and for want of such lether (which is the strongest) they make shooes of Deeres skinnes, very handsomly and commodious; and, of such deeres skinnes as they dresse bare, they make stockinges that comes within their shooes, like a stirrop stockinge, and is fastned above at their belt, which is about their middell; Every male, after hee attaines unto the age which they call Pubes, wereth a belt about his middell, and a broad peece of lether that goeth betweene his legs and is tuckt up both before and behinde under that belt; . . . those garments they allwayes put on, when they goe a huntinge, to keepe their skinnes from the brush of the Shrubb: and when they have their Apparrell one they looke like Irish in their trouses, the Stockinges joyne so to their breeches. A good well growne deere skin is of great account with them, and it must have the tale on, or else they account it defaced; the tale being three times as long as the tales of our English Deere, yea foure times so longe, this when they travell is raped round about their body and, with a girdle of their making, bound round about their middles, to which girdle is fastned a bagg, in which his instruments be with which hee can strike fire upon any occasion.

Thus with their bow in their left hand, and their quiver of Arrowes at their back, hanging one their left shoulder with the lower end of it in their right hand, they will runne away a dogg trot untill they come to their journey end; and, in this kinde of ornament, they doe seeme to me to be handsomer than when they are in English apparrell, their gesture being answerable to their one habit and not unto ours.

Their women have shooes and stockinges to weare likewise when they please, such as the men have, but the mantle they

use to cover their nakedness with is much longer then that which the men use; for, as the men have one Deeres skinn, the women have two foed together at the full lenght, and it is so lardge that it trailes after them like a great Ladies trane; and in time I thinke they may have their Pages to beare them up; and where the men use but one Beares skinn for a Mantle, the women have two foed together; and if any of their women would at any time shift one, they take that which they intend to make use of, and cast it over them round, before they shifte away the other, for modesty, . . . which is to be noted in people uncivilized; therein they seeme to have as much modesty as civilized people, and deserve to be applauded for it.

Of their Reverence, and respect to age.

It is a thing to be admired, and indeede made a president, that a Nation yet uncivilized should more respect age than some nations civilized, since there are so many precepts both of divine and humane writers extant to instruct more Civill Nations: in that particular, wherein they excell, the younger are allwayes obedient unto the elder people, and at their commaunds in every respect without grumblings; in all counsels, (as therein they are circumspect to do their acciones by advise and counsell, and not rashly or inconsiderately,) the younger mens opinion shall be heard, but the old mens opinion and counsell imbraced and followed: besides, as the elder feede and provide for the younger in infancy, so doe the younger, after being growne to yeares of manhood, provide for those that be aged; and in distribution of Acctes the elder men are first served by their dispenfator; and their counsels (especially if they be powahs) are esteemed as oracles amongst the younger Natives.

The consideration of these things, mee thinkes, should reduce some of our irregular young people of civilized Nations, when this story shall come to their knowledge, to better manners, and make them ashamed of their former error in this kinde, and to become hereafter more duetyfull; which I, as a friend, (by observation having found,) have herein recorded for that purpose.

Of the maintaining of their Reputation.

REPUTATION is such a thing that it keeps many men in awe, even amongst Civilized nations, and is very much stood upon: it is (as one hath very well noted) the awe of great men and of Kings. And, since I have observed it to be main-

tained amongst Salvage people, I cannot chuse but give an instance thereof in this treatise, to confirme the common received opinion thereof.

The Sachem or Sagamore of Sagus made choise, when hee came to mans estate, of a Lady of noble discent, Daughter to Papafiquineo, the Sachem or Sagamore of the territories neare Merrimack River, a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts, and (as my Countryman Mr. Wood declares in his prospect) a great Nigromancer; this Lady the younge Sachem with the consent and good liking of her father marries, and takes for his wife. Great entertainment hee and his received in those parts at her fathers hands, where they were feasted in the best manner that might be expected, according to the Custome of their nation, with reveling and such other solemnities as is usuall amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papafiquineo causes a selected number of his men to waite upon his Daughter home into those parts that did properly belong to her Lord and husband; where the attendants had entertainment by the Sachem of Saugus and his Countrymen: the solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

Not long after the new married Lady had a great desire to see her father and her native country, from whence shee came; her Lord willing to pleasure her, and not deny her request, amongst them thought to be reasonable, commanded a selected number of his owne men to conduct his Lady to her Father, wher, with great respect, they brought her; and, having feasted there a while, returned to their owne country againe, leaving the Lady to continue there at her owne pleasure, amongst her friends and old acquaintance; where shee passed away the time for a while, and in the end desired to returne to her Lord againe. Her father, the old Papafiquineo, having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the younge Sachem, his sonne in law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absent her selfe from his company any longer, and therefore, as the messengers had in charge, desired the younge Lord to send a convoy for her; but hee, standing upon tearmes of honor, and the maintaining of his reputation, returned to his father in law this answer, that, when she departed from him, hee caused his men to waite upon her to her fathers territories, as it did become him; but, now shee had an intent to returne, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people; and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so

servile, to fetch her againe. The old Sachem, Papasquineo, having this message returned, was intraged to think that his young son in law did not esteeme him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and returne[d] him this sharpe reply; that his daughters blood and birth deserved more respect than to be so slighted; and, therefore, if he would have her company, hee were best to send or come for her.

The younge Sachem, not willing to under value himselfe and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say that hee should either send her by his owne Convey, or keepe her; for hee was determined not to stoop so lowe.

So much these two Sachems stood upon tearmes of reputation with each other, the one would not send her, and the other would not send for her, least it should be any diminishing of honor on his part that should seeme to comply, that the Lady (when I came out of the Country) remained still with her father; which is a thinge worth the noting, that Salvage people should seeke to maintaine their reputation so much as they doe.*

Of their trafficke and trade one with another.

ALTHOUGH these people have not the use of navigation, whereby they may trafficke as other nations, that are civilized, use to doe, yet doe they barter for such commodities as they have, and have a kinde of beads insteede of money, to buy withall such things as they want, which they call Wampampeak: and it is of two sorts, the one is white, the other is of a violet coloure. These are made of the shells of fishe. The white with them is as silver with us; the other as our gould: and for these beads they buy and sell, not onely amongst themselves, but even with us.

We have used to sell them any of our commodities for this Wampampeak, because we know we can have beaver againe of them for it: and these beads are currant in all the parts of New England, from one end of the Coast to the other.

And although some have indevoured by example to have the like made of the same kinde of shels, yet none hath ever, as yet, attained to any perfection in the compofure of them,

* This incident is the subject of Whittier's poem, *The Bridal of Pennacook*; but Adams—see his note in the *New English Canaan*, p. 155—doubts its authenticity.—*Editor.*

but that the Salvages have found a great difference to be in the one and the other; and have knowne the counterfett beads from those of their owne making; and have, and doe slight them.

The skinnes of beafts are sould and bartered, to such people as have none of the same kinde in the parts where they live.

Likewife they have earthen potts of divers sizes, from a quarte to a gallon, 2. or 3. to boyle their vitels in; very stronge, though they be thin like our Iron potts.

They have dainty wooden bowles of maple, of highe price amongst them; and these are disperfed by bartering one with the other, and are but in certaine parts of the Country made, where the severall trades are appropriated to the inhabitants of those parts onely.

So likewife (at the season of the yeare) the Salvages that live by the Sea side for trade with the inlanders for fresh water, reles curious silver reles, which are bought up of such as have them not frequent in other places: chefnuts, and such like usefull things as one place affordeth, are sould to the inhabitants of another, where they are a novelty accompted amongst the natives of the land. And there is no such thing to barter withall, as is their Whampampeake.

Of their Magazines or Storehouses.

THESE people are not without providence, though they be uncivilized, but are carefull to preserve foede in store against winter; which is the corne that they laboure and dresse in the summer. And, although they eate freely of it, whiles it is growinge, yet have they a care to keepe a convenient portion thereof to releve them in the dead of winter, (like to the Ant and the Bee,) which they put under ground.

Their barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogthead of corne a peece in them. In these (when their corne is out of the huske and well dried) they lay their store in greate baskets (which they make of Sparke) with matts under, about the sides, and on the top; and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preserved from destruction or putrification; to be used in case of necessity, and not else.

And I am perswaded, that if they knew the benefit of Salte (as they may in time,) and the meanes to make salte meate fresh againe, they would endeavor to preserve fishe for winter, as well

as corne; and that if any thinge bring them to civility, it will be the use of Salte, to have foode in store, which is a cheife benefit in a civilized Commonwealth.

These people have begunne already to incline to the use of Salte. Many of them would begge Salte of mee for to carry home with them, that had frequented our howses and had been acquainted with our Salte meats: and Salte I willingly gave them, although I fould them all things else, onely because they should be delighted with the use there of, and thinke it a commodity of no value in it selfe, although the benefit was great that might be had by the use of it.

Of their admirable perfection, in the use of the fences.

THIS is a thinge not onely observed by mee and diverse of the Salvages of New England, but, also, by the French men in Nova Francia, and therefore I am the more incouraged to publish in this Treatise my observation of them in the use of their fences: which is a thinge that I should not easily have bin induced to beleieve, if I my selfe had not bin an eie witnesse of what I shall relate.

I have observed that the Salvages have the fence of seeing so farre beyond any of our Nation, that one would allmost beleieve they had intelligence of the Devill sometimes, when they have tould us of a shipp at Sea, which they have seene soener by one hower, yea, two howers sayle, then any English man that stood by of purpose to looke out, their sight is so excellent.

Their eies indeede are black as iett; and that coler is accounted the strongest for sight. And as they excell us in this particular so much noted, so I thinke they excell us in all the rest.

This I am sure I have well observed, that in the fence of smelling they have very great perfection; which is confirmed by the opinion of the French that are planted about Canada, who have made relation that they are so perfect in the use of that fence, that they will distinguish between a Spaniard and a Frenchman by the sent of the hand onely. And I am perswaded that the Author of this Relation has seene very probable reasons that have induced him to be of that opinion; and I am the more willing to give credit thereunto, because I have observed in them so much as that comes to.

*Of their acknowledgment of the Creation, and immortality
of the Soule.*

ALTHOUGH these Salvages are found to be without Religion, Law, and King (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed,) yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically); for they have it amongst them by tradition that God made one man and one woman, and bad them live together and get children, kill deare, beafts, birds, fish and fowle, and what they would at their pleafure; and that their posterity was full of evill, and made God so angry that hee let in the Sea upon them, and drowned the greateft part of them, that were naughty men, (the Lord destroyed fo;) and they went to Sanaconquam, who feeds upon them (pointing to the Center of the Earth, where they imagine is the habitation of the Devill :) the other, (which were not destroyed,) increased the world, and when they died (because they were good) went to the howse of Kytan, pointing to the setting of the sonne; where they eate all manner of dainties, and never take paines (as now) to provide it.

Kytan makes provision (they say) and saves them that laboure; and there they shall live with him forever, voyd of care. And they are perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits.

And that wee that use the booke of Common prayer doo it to declare to them, that cannot reade, what Kytan has commaunded us, and that wee doe pray to him with the helpe of that booke; and doe make so much accompt of it, that a Salvage (who had lived in my howse before hee had taken a wife, by whome hee had children) made this request to mee, (knowing that I allwayes used him with much more respect than others,) that I would let his sonne be brought up in my howse, that hee might be taught to reade in that booke: which request of his I granted; and hee was a very joyfull man to thinke that his sonne should thereby (as hee said) become an Englishman; and then hee would be a good man.

I asked him who was a good man; his answere was, hee that would not lye, nor steale.

These, with them, are all the capitall crimes that can be imagined; all other are nothing in respect of those; and hee that is free from these must live with Kytan for ever, in all manner of pleasure.

Thomas Morton, the author of the *New English Canaan*, is known to the student of New England history as one of the adventurers, of whom Captain Wollaston was the leader, who established themselves at Mount Wollaston, in the limits of the present town of Quincy, in 1625. Not much is known of his early life. He styles himself, on the title-page of his book, "of Cliffords Inne gent." His reputation was not good, one authority even stating that he had fled to New England "upon a foule suspition of murther." But this was at a time when human life was held cheap in many quarters. We are only sure that he was a reckless fellow, of looser morals than the Puritans whose neighbor he became. Allusions in the *New Canaan* show that he had been a man fond of field sports, and that he had been much of a traveler. They show too that he had been to Massachusetts Bay before 1625. He says at the beginning of the second book: "In the month of June, Anno Salutis 1622, it was my chance to arrive in the parts of New England with thirty servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation; and, while our houses were building, I did endeavor to take a survey of the country." This was probably in connection with Weston's settlement at Wessagusset. He tells us on his title-page that his book was written "upon tenne yeares knowledge and experiment of the country."

Of Morton's life with his men at Merry Mount, as he called Mount Wollaston, after Wollaston himself, in 1626, went away, of his trade with the Indians for furs, and the guns and rum he sold them, of his revelries and orgies, culminating in the famous episode of the May-pole, and of his final arrest and expulsion by the good people of Plymouth, all can read in the books. The fullest and best account is that by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., prefixed to the beautiful edition of the *New English Canaan* which he prepared for publication by the Prince Society. Everybody will remember Hawthorne's delightful sketch, *The May-pole of Merry Mount*; but many may not remember that Motley, when he was a very young man, before he began his great histories, made this interesting episode in our early New England history the theme of a novel: *Merry Mount, a Romance of the Massachusetts Colony*.

Whatever we may think of Morton's character—and it was probably not so bad as Bradford and the Puritans painted it—his book, which he called *New Canaan* in satire upon the strong Old Testament character of the fathers of New England who troubled him, has a distinct value. It is in three sections or books: "The first Booke [about a third of this is given in the present leaflet] setting forth the originall of the Natives, their Manners and Customes, together with their tractable Nature and Love towards the English. The second Booke setting forth the natural endowments of the Country, and what staple Commodities it yealdeth. The third Booke setting forth, what people are planted there, their prosperity, what remark-

able accidents have happened since the first planting of it, together with their Tenents and practice of their church."

Whatever controversies there may be over the third book, which contains the account of Morton's own career in New England, the earlier books, as containing the observations of one of the first comers to New England upon the natural history of the country and the aborigines, possess a real scientific interest. Morton made many mistakes—Trumbull remarks that he could not write the most simple Indian word without a blunder—but he was a lover of all out-door things, he was a curious and observing man, and he had a singularly sympathetic feeling toward the Indians and came to know them well; and what he writes has therefore a value besides that which attaches to its age and history. "Passionately fond of field sports," says Mr. Adams, "Morton found ample opportunity for the indulgence of his tastes in New England. He loved to ramble through the woods with his dog and gun, or sail in his boat on the bay. The Indians, too, were his allies, and naturally enough; for not only did he offer them an open and easy-going market for their furs, but he was companionable with them. They shared in his revels. He denies that he was in the habit of selling them spirits, but where spirits were as freely used as Morton's account shows they were at Merry Mount, the Indians undoubtedly had their share."

In 1634, three years before the appearance of Morton's *New English Canaan*, William Wood, who had come over in 1629, published his *New England's Prospect*, which contains much upon the manners and customs of the Indians. The student should compare the statements in this early work, which is an important one on many accounts for the student of early New England history, with those of Morton. Morton was familiar with what Wood had written about the Indians, and refers to the work more than once in his *New Canaan*. About forty years after Wood and Morton wrote (1674), Josselyn published his *Two Voyages*, with valuable accounts of the Indians of New England; and there is also much of value scattered through the pages of Winslow's *Good News*, Mather's *Magnalia*, and Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*, as well as in the works of Bradford, Roger Williams, and others of the fathers. Very full accounts of all these early writings, as well as of the later literature upon the Indians, both of New England and the southern colonies, will be found in the notes by Justin Winsor in the first volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and the first volume of the *Memorial History of Boston*.

James Adair's *History of the American Indians*, published in 1775, was the first general history of the Indians, and is quite full in its accounts of Indian manners and customs; but Adair's studies were chiefly of the Indians

south of New England. Schoolcraft's great work on *The Indian Tribes of the United States* has important sections devoted to general history and manners and customs. Schoolcraft's work has been abridged and published in two volumes, edited by Francis S. Drake, which will be more convenient and useful for many than the larger work. Mr. Drake is also the author of an *Indian History for Young Folks*, which the young folks attending the Old South lectures on the Indians should read through. The first two chapters, "What we know about the American Indians," and "Early European Interchange with the Indians," are closely related to the subject of the second lecture in the course. The best single book for older readers is Rev. George E. Ellis's *The Red Man and the White Man in North America*. Its early chapters upon the origin, numbers, and character of the Indians are clear and full, and the historical portion, covering the whole time from the founding of the colonies to the present, is interesting and just. Dr. Ellis's valuable essays on the Indians, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* and the *Memorial History of Boston*, should be consulted in connection.



Old South Leaflets.

EIGHTH SERIES, 1890.

No. 3.

Eliot's Brief Narrative.*

*To the Right Worshipful the Commissioners under his Majesties
Great-Seal, for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor
blind Indians in New-England.*

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND CHRISTIAN GENTLEMEN:

THAT brief Tract of the present state of the *Indian-Work* in my hand, which I did the last year on the sudden present you with when you call'd for such a thing; That falling short of its end, and you calling for a renewal thereof, with opportunity of more time, I shall begin with our last great motion in that Work done this Summer, because that will lead me to begin with the state of the *Indians* under the hands of my Brethren Mr. *Mahew* and Mr. *Bourn*.

Upon the 17th day of the 6th month, 1670, there was a Meeting at *Maktapog* near *Sandwich* in *Plimouth-Pattent*, to gather a Church among the *Indians*: There were present six of the Magistrates, and many Elders, (all of them Messengers of the Churches within that Jurisdiction) in whose presence, in a day of Fasting and Prayer, they making confession of the Truth and Grace of Jesus Christ, did in that solemn Assembly enter into Covenant, to walk together in the Faith and Order of the

* The full title of this tract was as follows:

A Brief Narrative of the Progreſs of the Gospel amongst the *Indians* in *New England*, in the Year 1670, given in by the Reverend Mr. JOHN ELLIOT, Minister of the Gospel there, in a LETTER by him directed to the Right Worſhipfull the COMMISSIONERS under his Majesties Great-Seal for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor blind Natives in those United Colonies. LONDON, Printed for John Allen, formerly living in Little-Britain at the Rising-Sun, and now in Wentworth Street near Bell-Lane, 1671.

Gospel; and were accepted and declared to be a Church of Jesus Christ. These *Indians* being of kin to our *Massachusetts-Indians* who first prayed unto God, conversed with them, and received amongst them the light and love of the Truth; they desired me to write to Mr. *Leveredge* to teach them: He accepted the Motion: and performed the Work with good success; but afterwards he left that place, and went to *Long-Island*, and there a godly Brother, named *Richard Bourne* (who purposed to remove with Mr. *Leveredge*, but hindered by Divine Providence) undertook the teaching of those *Indians*, and hath continued in the work with good success to this day; him we ordained Pastor: and one of the *Indians*, named *Jude*, should have been ordained Ruling-Elder, but being sick at that time, advice was given that he should be ordained with the first opportunity, as also a Deacon to manage the present Sabbath-day Collections, and other [4] parts of that Office in their season. The same day also were they, and such of their Children as were present, baptized.

From them we passed over to the *Vineyard*, where many were added to the Church both men and women, and were baptized all of them, and their Children also with them; we had the Sacrament of the Lords Supper celebrated in the *Indian-Church*, and many of the *English-Church* gladly joined with them; for which cause it was celebrated in both languages. On a day of Fasting and Prayer, Elders were ordained, two Teaching-Elders, the one to be a Preacher of the Gospel, to do the Office of a Pastor and Teacher; the other to be a Preacher of the Gospel, to do the Office of a Teacher and Pastor, as the Lord should give them ability and opportunity; Also two Ruling-Elders, with advice to ordain Deacons also, for the Service of Christ in the Church. Things were so ordered by the Lord's guidance, that a Foundation is laid for two Churches more; for first, these of the *Vineyard* dwelling at two great a distance to enjoy with comfort their Sabbath-communion in one place, Advice was given them, that after some experience of walking together in the Order and Ordinances of the Gospel, they should issue forth into another Church; and the Officers are so chosen, that when they shall do so, both Places are furnished with a Teaching and Ruling-Elder.

Also the Teacher of the *Praying Indians* of *Nantuket*, with a Brother of his were received here, who made good Confessions of Jesus Christ; and being asked, did make report unto us that there be about ninety Families who pray unto God in that Island,

so effectual is the Light of the Gospel among them. Advice was given, that some of the chief Godly People should joyn to this Church, (for they frequently converse together, though the Islands be seven leagues afunder) and after some experience of walking in the Order of the Gospel, they should issue forth into Church-estate among themselves, and have Officers ordained amongst them.

The Church of the *Vineyard* were desirous to have chosen Mr. *Mahew* to be their Pastor: but he declined it, conceiving that in his present capacity he lieth under greater advantages to stand their Friend, and do them good, to save them from the hands of such as would bereave them of their Lands, &c. but they shall alwayes have his counsel, instruction and management in all their Church-affairs, as hitherto they have had; he will die in this service of Jesus Christ. The *Praying-Indians* of both these Islands depend on him, as God's Instrument for their good. [5] Advice also was given for the settling of Schools; every Child capable of learning, equally paying, whether he make use of it or no: Yet if any should sinfully neglect Schooling their Youth, it is a transgression liable to censure under both Orders, Civil and Ecclesiastical, the offence being against both. So we walk at *Natick*.

In as much as now we have ordained *Indian Officers* unto the Ministry of the Gospel, it is needful to add a word or two of Apology: I find it hopeless to expect *English* Officers in our *Indian Churches*; the work is full of hardship, hard labour, and chargeable also, and the *Indians* not yet capable to give considerable support and maintenance; and Men have bodies, and must live of the Gospel: And what comes from England is liable to hazard and uncertainties. On such grounds as these partly, but especially from the secret wise governance of Jesus Christ, the Lord of the Harvest, there is no appearance of hope for their souls feeding in that way: they must be trained up to be able to live of themselves in the ways of the Gospel of Christ; and through the riches of God's Grace and Love, sundry of themselves who are expert in the Scriptures, are able to teach each other: An *English* young man raw in that language, coming to teach among our *Christian-Indians*, would be much to their loss; there be of themselves such as be more able, especially being advantaged that he speaketh his own language, and knoweth their manners. Such *English* as shall hereafter teach them, must begin with a People that begin to pray unto God, (and such opportunities we have many) and then as they grow in knowledge, he will grow (if he

be diligent) in ability of speech to communicate the knowledge of Christ unto them. And seeing they must have Teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be Teachers: for which cause I have begun to teach them the Art of Teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is, (by the grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labours to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analyze, and lay out into particulars both the Works and Word of God; and how to communicate knowledge to others methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of Divinity. There be sundry Ministers who live in an opportunity of beginning with a People, and for time to come I shall cease my importuning of others, and onely fall to persuade such unto this service of Jesus Christ, it being one part of our Ministerial Charge to preach to the World in the Name of Jesus, and from amongst them to gather Subjects to his holy Kingdom. The Bible, and the Catechism drawn [6] out of the Bible, are general helps to all parts and places about us, and are the ground-work of Community amongst all our *Indian-Churches* and Christians.

I find a blessing, when our Church of *Natick* doth send forth fit Persons unto some remoter places, to teach them the fear of the Lord. But we want maintenance for that Service; it is a chargeable matter to send a Man from his Family: The Labourer is worthy of his Hire: And when they go only to the High-ways and Hedges, it is not to be expected that they should reward them: If they believe and obey their Message, it is enough. We are determined to send forth some (if the Lord will, and that we live) this Autumn, sundry ways. I see the best way is, *up and be doing*: In all labour there is profit; *Seek and ye shall find*. We have Christ's Example, his Promise, his Presence, his Spirit to assist; and I trust that the Lord will find a way for your encouragement.

Natick is our chief Town, where most and chief of our Rulers, and most of the Church dwells; here most of our chief Courts are kept; and the Sacraments in the Church are for the most part here administered: It is (by the Divine Providence) seated well near in the center of all our praying *Indians*, though Westward the Cords of Christ's Tents are more enlarged. Here we began Civil Government in the year 1650. And here usually are kept the General-Trainings, which seven years ago looked so big that we never had one since till this year, and it was at this time but a small appearance. Here we have

two Teachers, *John Speen* and *Anthony*; we have betwixt forty and fifty Communicants at the Lord's Table, when they all appear, but now, some are dead, and some decipied with age; and one under Censure, yet making towards a recovery; one died here the last Winter of the Stone, a temperate, sober, godly man, the first *Indian* that ever was known to have that disease; but now another hath the same disease: Sundry more are proposed, and in way of preparation to joyn unto the Church.

Ponkipog, or *Pakeunit*, is our second Town, where the *Sachems* of the Blood (as they term their Chief Royal-Line) had their Residence and Rights, which are mostly Alienated to the English Towns: The last Chief Man, of that Line, was last year slain by the *Mauzugogs*, against whom he rashly (without due Attendants and Assistance, and against Counsel) went; yet all, yea, his Enemies say, He died valiantly; they were more afraid to kill him, than he was to die; yet being de- [7] ferted by all (some knowingly say through Treason) he stood long, and at last fell alone: Had he had but 10 Men, yea 5 in good order with him, he would have driven all his Enemies before him. His Brother was resident with us in this Town, but he is fallen into sin, and from praying to God. Our Chief Ruler is *Ahauton*, an old stedfast and trusty friend to the *English*, and loveth his Country. He is more loved than feared; the reins of his bridle are too long. *Wakan* is sometimes necessarily called to keep Courts here, to add life and zeal in the punishment of Sinners. Their late Teacher, *William*, is deceased; He was a man of eminent parts, all the *English* acknowledge him, and he was known to many: He was of a ready wit, sound judgment, and affable; he is gone unto the Lord; And *William*, the Son of *Ahauton*, is called to be Teacher in his stead. He is a promising young-man, of a single and upright heart, a good judgment, he Prayeth and Preacheth well, he is studious and industrious, and well accounted of among the *English*.

Hassunimesut is the next Town in order, dignity, and antiquity; fundry of our chief Friends in the great work of Praying to God, came from them, and there lived their Progenitors, and there lieth their Inheritance, and that is the place of their desires. It lieth upon *Nichmuke* River; the people were well known to the *English* so long as *Connecticut* Road lay that way, and their Religion was judged to be real by all that travelled that journey, and had occasion to lodge, especially to keep a Sabbath among them. The Ruler of the Town is *Anusweekin*, and his brother *Tuppukkoowillin* is Teacher, both sound and

godly Men. This Ruler, laſt Winter, was overtaken with a Paſſion, which was ſo obſervable, that I had occaſion to ſpeak with him about it; he was very penitent; I told him, That as to man, I, and all men were ready to forgive him. *Ah!* ſaid he, *I find it the greateſt difficulty to forgive myſelf.* For the encouragement of this place, and for the cheriſhing of a new Plantation of Praying Indians beyond them, they called *Monatunkanet* to be a Teacher alſo in that Town, and both of them to take care of the new Praying-Town beyond them. And for the like encouragement, Captain *Gookins* joyned *Petahheg* with *Anuweekin*. The aged Father of this Ruler and Teacher, was laſt year Baptized, who hath many Children that fear God. In this place we meditate ere long (if the Lord will, and that we live) to gather a Church, that ſo the Sabbath-Communion of our Chriſtian *Indians* may be the more agree- [8] able to the Divine Inſtitution, which we make too bold with while we live at ſuch diſtance.

Ogguonikongquameſut is the next Town; where, how we have been afflicted, I may not ſay. The *English* Town called *Marlborough* doth border upon them, as did the lines of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*; the *English* Meeting-houſe ſtandeth within the line of the *Indian* Town, although the contiguity and co-habitation is not barren in producing matters of interfering; yet our godly *Indians* do obtain a good report of the godly *English*, which is an argument that bringeth light and evidence to my heart, that our *Indians* are really godly. I was very lately among them; they deſired me to ſettle a ſtated Lecture amongſt them, as it is in ſundry other Praying Towns, which I did with ſo much the more gladneſs and hope of bleſſing in it, becauſe through Grace the Motion did firſt ſpring from themſelves. *Solomon* is their Teacher, whom we judge to be a ſerious and ſound Chriſtian; their Ruler is *Owannamug*, whoſe grave, faithful, and diſcreet Converſation hath procured him real reſpect from the *English*. One that was a Teacher in this place, is the man that is now under Censure in the Church; his ſin was that adventitious ſin which we have brought unto them, Drunkenneſs, which was never known to them before they knew us *English*. But I account it our duty, and it is much in my deſire, as well to teach them Wiſdom to Rule ſuch heady Creatures, as ſkill to get them to be able to bridle their own appetites, when they have means and opportunity of high-ſpirited enticements. The Wiſdom and Power of Grace is not ſo much ſeen in the beggarly want of theſe things, as in

the bridling of our selves in the use of them. It is true Dominion, to be able to use them, and not to abuse ourselves by them.

Nashope is our next Praying Town, a place of much Affliction; it was the chief place of Residence, where *Tahattawans* lived, a Sachem of the Blood, a faithful and zealous Christian, a strict yet gentle Ruler; he was a Ruler of 50 in our Civil Order; and when God took him, a chief man in our *Israel* was taken away from us. His only Son was a while vain, but proved good, expert in the Scripture, was Elected to Rule in his Fathers place, but soon died, insonmuch that this place is now destitute of a Ruler. The Teacher of the place is *John Thomas*, a godly understanding Christian, well esteemed of by the *Englilh*: his Father was killed by the *Mauquaogs*, shot to death as he was in [9] the River doing his Eele-wyers. This place lying in the Road-way which the *Mauquaogs* haunted, was much molested by them, and was one year wholly deserted; but this year the People have taken courage and dwell upon it again.

In this place after the great Earthquake, there was some eruption out of the Earth, which left a great *Hiatus* or Cleft a great way together, and out of some Cavities under great Rocks, by a great Pond in that place, there was a great while after often heard an humming noise, as if there were frequent eruptions out of the Ground at that place: yet for Healthfulness the place is much as other places be. For Religion, there be amongst them some Godly Christians, who are received into the Church, and baptized, and others looking that way.

Wamefut is our next Praying-Town; it lyeth at the bottom of the great Falls, on the great River *Merymak*, and at the falling-in of *Concord* River; the Sachem of this Place is named *Nomphon*, said to be a Prince of the Bloud, a Man of a real Noble Spirit: A Brother of his was slain by the *Mauquaogs* as he was upon a Rock fishing in the great River. In revenge whereof he went in the forementioned rash Expedition, but had such about him, and was so circumspcct, that he came well off, though he lost one principal Man. This place is very much annoyed by the *Mauquaogs*, and have much ado to stand their ground.

In this Place Captain *Gookins* ordered a Garrison to be kept the last year, which Order while they attended they were safe; but when the Northern Sachems and Souldiers came, who stirred up ours to go with them on their unsuccessful Expedition, the Town was for the most part scatter'd, and their Corn spoyled.

The Teacher of this Place is named *George*: they have not much esteem for Religion, but I am hopefully perswaded of sundry of them; I can go unto them but once in a year.

Panatuket is the upper part of *Merimak-Falls*; so called, because of the noise which the Waters make. Thither the *Penagwog-Indians* are come, and have built a great Fort; Their Sachems refused to pray to God, so signally and sinfully, that Captain *Gookins* and my self were very sensible of it, and were not without some expectation of some interposure of a Divine-Hand, which did eminently come to pass; for in the forenamed Expedition they joyned with the Northern Sachems, [10] and were all of them cut off; even all that had so signally refused to pray unto God were now as signally rejected by God, and cut off. I hear not that it was ever known, that so many Sachems and Men of Note were killed in one imprudent Expedition, and that by a few scattered people; for the *Mauquaogs* were not imbodied to receive them, nor prepared, and few at home, which did much greaten the Overthrow of so many great Men, and shews a divine over-ruling hand of God. But now, since the *Penaguog-Sachems* are cut off, the People (sundry of them) dwelling at *Panatuket-Fort* do bow the Ear to hear, and submit to pray unto God; to whom *Jethro*, after he had confest Christ and was baptized, was sent to preach Christ to them.

Magunkukquok is another of our Praying-Towns at the remotest Westerly borders of *Natick*; these are gathering together of some *Nipmuk Indians* who left their own places, and sit together in this place, and have given up themselves to pray unto God. They have called *Pomham* to be their Ruler, and *Simon* to be their Teacher. This latter is accounted a good and lively Christian; he is the second man among the *Indians* that doth experience that afflicting disease of the Stone. The Ruler hath made his Preparatory Confession of Christ, and is approved of, and at the next opportunity is to be received and baptized.

I obtained of the General-Court a Grant of a Tract of Land, for the settlement and encouragement of this People; which though as yet it be by some obstructed, yet I hope we shall find some way to accomplish the same.

Quanatuffet is the last of our Praying-Towns, whose beginnings have received too much discouragement; but yet the Seed is alive: they are frequently with me; the work is at the birth, there doth only want strength to bring forth. The care of this People is committed joyntly to *Monatunkanit*, and *Tuppunk-*

hoorwillin, the Teachers of *Hassinemesut*, as is above said; and I hope if the Lord continue my life, I shall have a good account to give of that People.

Thus I have briefly touched some of the chiefest of our present Affairs, and commit them to your Prudence, to do [11] with them what you please; committing your Selves, and all your weighty Affairs unto the Guidance and Blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Your Worships to serve you in the Service of our Lord *Jesus*.

John Elliot.

Roxb. this 20th of the 7th month, 1670.

LETTER FROM ELIOT TO HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

Roxbury, April 22, 1684.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND INDEFATIGABLE BENEFACTORS:

This last gift of four hundred pounds for the reimpression of the Indian bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honours all thankful acknowledgments, according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr. Stoughton to give me an intimation, that your honours desired to know the particular present estate of the praying Indians; and also, when Moses's Pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work.

Your honour's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and therefore I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians. They do diligently observe and keep the sabbath, in all the places of their publick meetings to worship God. The example of the English churches, and the authority of the English laws, which major Gookin doth declare unto them, together with such mulcts, as are inflicted upon transgressors; as also and especially, the clear and express command of God, which they and their children learn and rehearse daily in their catechisms; these all together have fully possessed and convinced them of their duty, to keep holy the sabbath day. So that the sanctifying of the sabbath is a great and eminent part of their religion. And though some of the vain and carnal sort among them are not so girt to it, as were to be desired, yet the grave and religious sort do constantly worship God, every sabbath day, both morning and evening, as the English do.

The acts of worship, which they perform in their publick meetings, are as followeth.

The officer beginneth with prayer, and prayeth for all men, rulers, ministers, people, young, old, sick, well, English or Indians, &c. according to that word, 1 Tim. ii. 12. *I will that first of all prayers*

be made, &c. I say, the officer beginneth with prayer, *viz.* where they have an officer ordained, as it is almost in all the churches. But we have more publick assemblies, that meet every Lord's day, to worship God, than we have churches. There is not yet a church gathered in every place, where they meet to worship God and keep the sabbath; but where it is so, they choose some able godly man (the best they can) to manage the worship among them: him they call their teacher, and he beginneth with prayer, &c. When prayer is ended, they call forth such as are to answer the catechism; and though this is sometimes omitted in some places, yet that is the way they walk in, and it is often practised. When catechism is ended, a chapter is read, sometimes in the old testament, and sometimes in the new; and sundry of the young men are trained up, and called forth to this service, sometimes one, sometimes another.

When the chapter is read, a psalm is sung, which service sundry are able to manage well.

That finished, the preacher first prayeth, then preacheth, and then prayeth again. If it be the day for the Lord's supper to be celebrated, the church address themselves unto it, and the minister doth exactly perform it, according to the scriptures. When that service is done, they sing a psalm, according to the pattern of Christ; then he blesseth the church, and so finisheth the morning service.

In the afternoon they meet again, and perform all the parts of worship, as they did in the morning; which done, if there be any infant to be baptised, they perform that service according to the scriptures; which done, the deacon calleth for contributions; which done, if there be any act of publick discipline (as divers times there is, there being many failures among us) then the offender is called forth (being with care and diligence prepared) and is exhorted to give glory to God, and confess his sin; which being penitent, they gladly accept him, forgive him, and receive him. If it be not a satisfactory confession, they shew him his defect, they admonish and exhort him to a more full confession; and so he is left to some other time. This finished, he blesseth the church, and so dismisseth the assembly.

Moreover, Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Mr. Daniel Gookin, unto this service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the college; he hath taught and trained up two classes of our young scholars unto their commencement; he is a man, whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr. Gookin holdeth a lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month; which lecture, many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English, to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath *fore-prepared*. We apprehend, that this will (by God's blessing) be a

means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue. Likewise Major Gookin holdeth and manageth his courts in the English tongue; which doth greatly further the Indians in learning law and government in the English tongue; which is a point of wisdom in civilizing them, that your honours have manifested your desires, that it might be attended.

The places, where the Indians meet to worship God, and sanctify the sabbath, are many; the most are stated places, others are occasional. The stated places, in the Massachusetts, since the wars, are contracted into four, Natick, Ponkipog, Wameset, and Chachau-bunkkakowok. The occasional meetings are at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chestnuts, in their seasons. Also since the wars, the Mauquaoy's, making incursions upon the praying Indians, did cause them to make divers forts, to live safely in, and then they did there meet to worship God, and keep the sabbath.

In Plymouth Patent, there are about ten places, where they meet to worship God.

An intelligent person, of Martyn's Vineyard, reckoned up unto me ten places, where God is worshipped every Lord's day in that island.

At Nantucket there be about five places of prayer and keeping sabbaths.

The reason of this dispersion of places of publick meeting to worship God, is this; there is but here and there a spot of good land, fit for planting corn, with accommodation of fishing; these spots of good land lie at a great distance from each other; some four or five miles, some eight or nine miles: some ten or twelve miles, so that it is impossible for them, especially with women and children, to meet at one place; therefore all, that live together at one place, meet to worship God on the sabbath day. . . .

As for the sending any numbers of Moses's Pentateuch, I beseech your honours to spare us in that; because so many as we send, so many bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your honours with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech, that it may be acceptable, until the whole be finished; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honours command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishman, and a boy, and one Indian; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us; and we could do but little this very hard winter. But I shall give your honours no further trouble at this time, only requesting the continuance of your prayers and protection. So I remain,

Your honour's to serve you in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

Eliot's *Brief Narrative*, written in 1670, just twenty years before his death, was the last of his publications relating to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. Several earlier reports had been published in London. *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, manifested in three Letters under the Hand of that famous Instrument of the Lord, Mr. John Eliot, and another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jun., both Preachers of the Word, as well to the English as Indians in New England*, had been published in London by Edward Winslow, in 1649. This has been reprinted in the Mass. His. Society's Collections, third series, vol. iv. In the same volume is reprinted *Tears of Repentance: Or a further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England, etc.*, by Eliot and Mayhew, first published in London in 1653, together with other important tracts of the same period, by Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, Rev. Henry Whitfield of Guilford, Conn., and others, upon the work of Eliot and the other missionaries among the Indians. The student can learn about all these tracts on the subject of the Christianizing of the Indians of New England in the bibliographic note prefixed to Marvin's reprint of the *Brief Narrative*. In the Mass. His. Society's Collections, first series, vol. iii, are nine letters from Eliot to the Honorable Robert Boyle, on the same general topic, the first dated Sept. 30, 1670, shortly after the issue of this tract, and the last, July 7, 1688, not long before Eliot's death. Boyle was for a time governor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and a generous contributor to the missionary work among the Indians; and Marvin probably conjectures rightly that these letters — one of which is included in the present leaflet — filled the place which the publications had previously supplied, serving as reports of the progress of the work.

Of the work of Eliot and his associates among the Indians there is some account in all the histories of New England. The earliest life of Eliot is that by Cotton Mather (1691), afterwards embodied in his *Magnalia*. There are various later lives — by Convers Francis, Dearborn, Thornton and others, and a sketch by Miss Yonge in her *Pioneers and Founders*. Dr. Ellis devotes considerable attention to the missionary efforts among the Indians in his *Red Man and White Man in North America*. See also his chapter on "The Indians of Eastern Massachusetts," with the portrait of Eliot, in the first volume of the *Memorial History of Boston*. This volume contains much of value concerning Eliot; see the chapter on "Roxbury in the Colonial Period," etc. Of special value is the chapter on "The Indian Tongue and its Literature as fashioned by Eliot and others," by J. Hammond Trumbull. The student can nowhere find a better brief account of Eliot's Indian Bible and its printing. See also Mr. Trumbull's *Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England*; the chapter on "New England," by Charles Deane, in the third volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*; and further references to Eliot in the third and first volumes of that work.



Old South Leaflets.

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No 4.

The Beginning of King Philip's War.

By WILLIAM HUBBARD, MINISTER OF IPSWICH.

From his "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians of New England,"
1677.

After the Death of this *Woofamequen* or *Massasoit*, his eldest Son succeeded him about twenty Years since, *Alexander* by name, who notwithstanding the League he had entered into with the English, together with his Father, in the Year 1639, had neither Affections to the Englishmens Persons, nor yet to their Religion, but had been plotting with the *Narhagansets* to rise against the English; of which the Governour and Council of *Plimouth* being informed, they presently sent for him to bring him to the Court; the Person to whom that Service was committed, was a prudent and resolute Gentleman, the present Governour of the said Colony, who was neither afraid of Danger, nor yet willing to delay in a [10] matter of that Moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten stout Men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the said *Alexander's* Dwelling, distant at least forty Miles from the Governour's House; but by a good Providence, he found him whom he went to seek at a Hunting-House, within six miles of the English Towns, when the said *Alexander* with about eighty Men were newly come in from Hunting, and had left their Guns without Doors, which Major *Winslow* with his small Company wisely seized, and conveyed away, and then went into the Wigwam, and demanded *Alexander* to go along with him before the Governour, at which Message he was much appall'd, but being told by the undaunted Messenger, that if he stir'd or refused to

go, he was a dead Man; he was by one of his chief Councillors, in whose Advice he most confided, perswaded to go along to the Governours House, but such was the Pride and Height of his Spirit, that the very Surprizal of him, so raised his Choler and Indignation, that it put him into a Fever, which notwithstanding all possible Means that could be used, seemed Mortal; whereupon entreating those who held him Prisoner, that he might have Liberty to return Home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his Son as Hostage till he could do so; on that Consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half Way Home. Here let it be observed, that although Some have taken up false Reports, as if the English had compelled him to go further or faster than he was able, and so fell into a Fever, or as if he were not well used by the Physician that looked to him, while he was with the English, all which are notoriously False; nor is it to be imagined that a Person of so noble a Disposition as is that Gentleman (at that Time employed to bring him) should himself, or suffer any else to be uncivil to a Person allied to them by his own, as well as his Fathers League, as the said *Philip* also was; nor was any Thing of that Nature ever objected to the English of *Plimouth* by the said *Alexanders* Brother, by name *Philip*, commonly for his ambitious and haughty Spirit nick-named *King Philip*, when he came in the Year 1662, in his own Person with *Sausaman* his Secretary and chief Councillor to renew the former League that had been between his Predecessors and the English of *Plimouth*; but there was as much Correspondence betwixt them for the next seven Years, as ever had been in any former Times. What can be imagined therefore, besides the Instigation of Satan, that either envied at the Prosperity of the Church of God here seated; or else fearing lest the Power of the Lord Jesus, that had overthrown his Kingdom in other Parts of the World should do the Like here, and so the Stone taken out of the Mountain without Hands, should become a great Mountain it self, and fill the [11] whole Earth, no Cause of Provocation being given by the English; for once before this, in the Year 1671, the Devil, who was a Murderer from the Beginning, had so filled the Heart of this savage Miscreant with Envy and Malice against the English, that he was ready to break out into open War against the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, pretending some petite Injuries done to him in planting Land; but when the Matter of Controversie came to be heard before Divers of the *Massachusetts Colony*: yea when he himself came

to *Boston*, as it were referring his Case to the Judgment of that Colony, nothing of that Nature could be made to appear; Whereupon in way of Submission, he was of Necessity by that evident Conviction, forced to acknowledge that it was the Naughtiness of his own Heart that put him upon that Rebellion, and nothing of any Provocation from the English; and to a Confession of this Nature, with a solemn Renewal of his Covenant, declaring his Desire, that this his Covenant might testify to the World against him, if ever he should prove unfaithful to those of *Plimouth*, or any other of the English Colonies therein; himself with his chief Councillors subscribed in the Presence of some Messengers sent on purpose to hear the Difference between *Plimouth* and the said *Philip*. But for further Satisfaction of the Reader, the said Agreement and Submission shall be here published.

Taunton, April 10th, 1671.

Whereas my Father, my Brother, and myself have formally submitted ourselves and our People unto the Kings Majesty of England, and to the Colony of New Plimouth, by solemn Covenant under our Hand; but I having of late through my Indiscretion, and the Naughtiness of my Heart, violated and broken this my Covenant with my Friends, by taking up Arms, with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my Unfaithfulness and Folly, do desire at this Time solemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers Friends above mentioned, and do desire that this may testify to the World against me if ever I shall again fail in my Faithfulness towards them (that I have now, and at all Times found so kind to me) or any other of the English Colonies; and as a real Pledge of my true intentions for the Future to be Faithful and Friendly, I do freely engage to resign up unto the Government of New Plimouth, all my English Arms, to be kept by them for their Security, [12] so long as they shall see Reason. For true Performance of the Premises, I have hereunto set my Hand, together with the Rest of my Council.

In Presence of

William Davis.

William Hudson.

Thomas Brattle.

The Mark of *P. Philip.*

chief Sachem of *Pocanoket.*

The Mark of *V. Tavofer.*

The Mark of *Capt. Wipposke.*

The Mark of *T. Woonkaponchunt.*

[*Woonkaponchunt.*]

The Mark of *S. Nimrod.*

To which for the further clearing the Justice of the present War, the Result of the Debate of the Commissioners of the United Colonies about the Matter of the War shall be here inserted.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held in *Boston*,

September 9th, 1675.

We having received from the Commissioners of Plimouth a Narrative showing the Rise and several Steps of that Colony, as to the present War with the Indians, which had its Beginning there, and its progress into the Massachusetts, by their Insolences and Outrages, murdering many Persons, and burning their Houses in sundry Plantations in both Colonies. And having only considered the same, do declare, that the said War doth appear to be both Just and Necessary, and its first Rise only a defensive War. And therefore we do agree and conclude, that it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the united Colonies, and the Charges thereof to be born and paid, as is agreed in the Articles of Confederation.

*John Winthrop.
James Richards.*

*Thomas Danforth.
William Stoughton.
Josiah Winslow.
Thomas Hinckley.*

Yet whatever his Submission was before, or his subjecting himself and his People to our King, or his Engagement to pay a Sum of Money in Part of the Charges then occasioned by him (nor have the English in or about *Plimouth*, since, or before that Time been any Ways injurious unto him, or any of his People) all which are fully declared in a Narrative given by the Commissioners of the Colony of *Plimouth*, wherein they also signify that the Settlement and Issue of the former Controversy^[13] between *Philip* and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the Mediation, and interposed Advice and Counsel of the other two confederate Colonies, and also in a Letter under the Governours Hand in these Words: —

I think I can clearly say, that before these present Troubles broke out, the English did not possess one Foot of Land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian Proprietors: Nay, because some of our People are of a covetous Disposition, and the Indians are in Straights easily pre-

vailed with to part with their Lands, we first made a Law, that none should purchase or receive of Gift any Land of the Indians without the Knowledge and Allowance of our Court, and Penalty of a Fine, five Pound per Acre for all that should be bought as obtained. And lest yet they should be frightened we ordered that Mount-Hope, Pocasset, and several other Necks of the best Land in the Colony (because most suitable and convenient for them), should never be bought out of their Hands, or else they would have sold them long since. And our Neighbors of Rehoboth and Swanzy, although they bought their Lands fairly of this Philip and his Father and Brother, yet because of their Vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own Cost set up a very substantial Fence quite cross that great Neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due Damage if at any Time any unruly Horse or other Beasts brake in and trespassed. And for divers Years last past (that all Occasions of Offence in that respect might be prevented); the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain Sum, yearly, to maintain the said Fence, and secure themselves. And if at any Time they have brought Complaints before us, they have had Justice impartial and speedy, so that our own People have frequently complained, that we erred on the other Hand in shewing them overmuch Favour.

Marshfield, May 1.
1676.

Jos. Winslow.

Yet did this treacherous and perfidious Caitiff still harbour the same or more mischievous Thoughts against the English than ever before, and hath been since that Time plotting with all the *Indians* round about to make a general Insurrection against the English in all the Colonies; which, as some Prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in Execution at once, by all the *Indians* rising as one Man, against all those Plantations of English which were next them. The *Narhagansets* having promised, as was confessed, to rise with four thousand fighting Men in the Spring of this present Year 1676. But by the Occasion hereafter to be mentioned about *Sausuman*, Philip was necessitated for [14.] the Safety of his own Life to begin his Rebellion the Year before, when the Design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own Life had not now been in Jeopardy by the Guilt of the foresaid Murther of *Sausuman*, his Heart might have failed him, when it should have come to be put in Execution, as it did before in the Year 1671.

which made one of his Captains, of far better Courage and Resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly Temper and Disposition, fling down his Arms, calling him a *white-liver'd Cur*, or to that Purpose, and saying, That he would never own him again, or fight under him, and from that Time hath turned to the English, and hath continued to this Day a faithful and resolute Soldier in this Quarrel.

That the *Indians* had a Conspiracy amongst themselves to rise against the English, is confirmed by some of the *Indians* about *Hadly*, although the plot was not come to Maturity when Philip began, the special Providence of God therein over-ruling the Contrivers: For when the Beginning of the Troubles first was reported from *Mount Hope*, many of the *Indians* were in a kind of Maze, not knowing well what to do; sometimes ready to stand for the English, as formerly they were wont to do, sometimes inclining to strike in with *Philip* (which at the last they generally did) which if it had been foreseen, much of that mischief might have been prevented that fell out in several Places, more by perfidious and treacherous Dealing than any other Ways: the English never imagining that after so many obliging Kindnesses received from them by the *Indians*, besides their many Engagements and Protections of Friendship, as formerly, they would have been so Ungrateful, perfidiously False and Cruel as they have since proved.

The Occasion of *Philips* so sudden taking up Arms the last Year, was this: There was one *John Sausaman* a very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English Language, and bred up in the Profession of Christian Religion, employed as a Schoolmaster at Natick, the *Indian Town*, who upon some Misdemeanor fled from his Place to *Philip*, by whom he was entertained in the Room and Office of Secretary, and his chief Counsellor, whom he trusted with all his Affairs and secret Counsels: But afterwards, whether upon the Sting of his own Conscience, or by the frequent Sollicitations of Mr. *Eliot*, that had known him from a Child, and instructed him in the Principles of our Religion, who was often laying before him the heinous Sin of his Apostacy, and returning back to his old Vomit; he was at last prevailed with to forsake *Philip*, and return back to the Christian *Indians* at *Natick* where he was baptised, manifested publick Repentance for all his former Offences, [15] and made a serious Profession of the Christian Religion: and did apply himself to preach to the *Indians*, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian Nation; so as he was observed to conform

more to the English Manners than any other Indian: yet having Occasion to go up with some others of his Country men to *Namasket*, whether for the Advantage of Fishing or some such Occasion, it matters not; being there not far from *Philips Country*, he had Occasion to be much in the Company of *Philips Indians*, and of *Philip* himself: by which Means he discerned by several Circumstances that the Indians were plotting anew against us; the which out of Fathfulness to the English the said *Sausaman* informed the Governour of; adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent Testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was certain Truth in the Information; some Inquiry was made into the Business, by examining *Philip* himself, several of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themselves from just Suspicion; *Philip* therefore soon after contrived the said *Sausamans* Death, which was strangely discovered; notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon the Ice on a great Pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the Ice, yet leaving his Gun and his Hat upon the Ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the Ice and was drowned: but being missed by his Friend, who finding his Hat and his Gun, they were thereby led to the Place, where his Body was found under the Ice: when they took it up to bury him, some of his Friends, specially one *David*, observed some Bruises about his Head, which made them suspect he was first knocked down, before he was put into the Water: however, they buried him near about the Place where he was found, without making any further Inquiry at present: nevertheless *David* his Friend, reported these Things to some English at *Taunton* (a Town not far from *Namasket*), occasioned the Governour to inquire further into the Business, wisely considering, that as *Sausaman* had told him, If it were known that he had revealed any of their Plots, they would murder him for his Pains: wherefore by special Warrant the Body of *Sausaman* being digged again out of his Grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed, and not drowned. And by a strange Providence an Indian was found, that by Accident was standing unseen upon a Hill, had seen them murder the said *Sausaman*, but durst never reveal it for Fear of losing his own Life likewise, until he was called to the Court at *Plimouth*, or before the Governour, where he plainly [16] confessed what he had seen. The Murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable

Testimony, and other remarkable Circumstances, and so were all put to Death, being but three in Number; the last of them confessed immediately before his Death, that his Father (one of the Councillors and special Friends of *Philip*) was one of the two that murdered *Sausaman*, himself only looking on. This was done at *Plimouth Court*, held in June 1674. Infomuch that *Philip* apprehending the Danger his own Head was in next, never used any further Means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his Charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about *Sausamans* Death: but by keeping his Men continually about him in Arms, and gathering what Strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in Arms, both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards. The English of *Plimouth* hearing of all this, yet took no further Notice, than only to order a Militia Watch in all the adjacent Towns, hoping that *Philip* finding himself not likely to be arraigned by Order of the said Court, the present Cloud might blow over, as some others of like Nature had done before; but in Conclusion, the Matter proved otherwise; for *Philip* finding his Strength daily increasing, by the flocking of Neighbour-Indians unto him, and sending over their Wives and Children to the *Narhagansets* for Security (as they use to do when they intend War with any of their Enemies,) immediately they began to alarm the English at *Swanzy*, (the next Town to *Philips* Country,) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their Insolencies grew to such an Height, that they began not only to use threatening Words to the English, but also to kill their Cattel and riffe their Houses; whereat an English-man was so provoked, that he let fly a Gun at an *Indian*, but did only wound, not kill him; whereupon the *Indians* immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of *June*, 1675, was the Alarm of War first sounded in *Plimouth Colony*, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about *Swanzy*: They first making a Shot at a Company of English as they returned from the Assembly where they were met in way of Humiliation that Day, whereby they killed one and wounded others: and then likewise at the same Time, they slew two Men on the High-way, sent to call a Surgeon, and barbarously the same Day murdered six Men in and about a Dwelling-house in another Part of the Town: all which Outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no Time to make any Resistance. For on the 14th of the same Month, besides Endeavours used by Mr. *Brown of Swanzy*, one of the Magistrates of *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, an amicable

Letter was sent from the Council of *Plimouth* to *Philip*, [17] showing a Dislike of his Practices, and advising him to dismiss his strange *Indians*, and not suffer himself to be abused by false Reports concerning them that intended him no Hurt: but no Answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatening of War, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when Things seemed to look with as bad a Face as then they did. However the Governour and Council of *Plimouth*, understanding that *Philip* continued in his Resolution, and manifested no Inclination to Peace, they immediately sent us what Forces they could to secure the Towns thereabouts, and make Resistance as Occasion might be: and also dispatched away Messengers to the *Massachusetts* Governour and Council, letting them know the State of Things about *Mount-hope*: and desiring their speedy Assistance, upon which, Care was immediately taken with all Expedition to send such Supplies as were desired: But in the mean time two Messengers were dispatched to *Philip*, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody Enterprize, so as to have prevented the Mischief since fallen out, hoping, that as once before, *viz*, Anno 1671, by their Mediation, a Stop was put to the like Tragedy; so the present War might by the same Means have been now turned aside. For in the said Year, *Philip* had firmly engaged himself, when he was at *Boston*, not to quarrel with *Plimouth* until he had first addressed himself to the *Massachusetts* for Advice and Approbation: But the two Messengers aforesaid, finding the Men slain in the Road, *June 24*, as they were going for the Chyrurgeon, apprehended it not safe to proceed any further, considering also, that a Peace now could not honourably be concluded after such barbarous Outrages committed upon some of the neighbour Colony: Wherefore returning with all Speed to *Boston*, the *Massachusetts* Forces were dispatched away with all imaginable Haste, as the Exigent of the Matter did require, some of them being then upon, or ready for their March, the rest were ordered to follow after, as they could be raised. The sending forth of which, because it was the first Engagement in any war-like Preparations against the *Indians* shall be more particularly declared.

On the 26th of *June* a Foot Company under Capt. *Daniel Henchman*, with a Troop under Capt. *Thomas Prentice*, were sent out of *Boston* towards *Mount Hope*; it being late in the Afternoon before they began to March, the central Eclipse of the Moon in *Capric*. hapned in the evening before they came

up to *Neponset River*, about twenty Miles from *Boston*, which occasioned them to make an Halt for a little Repast, till the Moon recovered her Light again. Some melancholy Fancies would not be perswaded, but that the Eclipse falling out at that Instant of Time [18] was ominous, conceiving also that in the Centre of the Moon they discerned an unusual black Spot, not a little resembling the Scalp of an *Indian*: As some others not long before, imagined they saw the Form of an *Indian Bow*, accounting that likewise ominous (although the Mischief following was done by Guns, not by Bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what *Marcus Crassus*, the *Roman* General, going forth with an Army against the *Parthians*, once wisely replied to a private Souldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching at that Time, because of an Eclipse of the Moon in *Capricorn*, (*That he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus*) meaning the Arrows of the *Parthians* (accounted very good Archers) from whom, as Things then fell out, was his greatest Danger. But after the Moon had waded through the dark Shadow of the Earth, and borrowed her Light again, by the Help thereof the two Companies marched on towards *Woodcoks House*, thirty Miles from *Boston*, where they arrived next Morning; and there retarded their Motion till the Afternoon, in Hope of being overtaken by a Company of Voluntiers; under the Command of Captain Samuel Mosely, which accordingly came to pass; so as on June 28 they all arrived at *Swanzy*, when by the Advice of Captain *Cudworth* the Commander in Chief of *Plimouth* Forces, they were removed to the Head Quarters; which for that Time were appointed at Mr. *Miles* his House, the Minister of *Swanzy*, within a Quarter of a Mile of the Bridge leading into *Philips* Lands. They arriving there some little Time before Night, twelve of the Troopers, unwilling to lose Time, passed over the Bridge, for Discovery into the Enemies Territories, where they found the rude Welcome of eight or ten *Indians* firing upon them out of the Bushes, killing one *William Hammond*, wounding Corporal *Belcher*, his Horse also being shot down under him; the Rest of the said Troopers having discharged upon those *Indians* that ran away after their first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded Companions, and so retired to the main Guard for that Night, pitching in a Barricado about Mr. *Miles* his House. The Enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold Assault or two at the first; but their Hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the *Massachusetts* and *Plimouth*

Forces both engaged against them: for the next Morning they shouted twice or thrice, at Half a Miles Distance, and nine or ten of them showing themselves on this Side the Bridge: our Horseman with the whole Body of the Privateers under Captain *Mosely*, not at all daunted by such kind of Alarms, nor willing so to lose the Bridge, ran violently down upon them over the said Bridge, pursuing them a Mile and a Quarter on the other Side: Ensign [19] *Savage*, that young martial Spark, scarce twenty Years of Age, had at that Time one Bullet lodged in his Thigh, another shot through the Brim of his Hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy discharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his Colours in the Front of his Company: but the weather not suffering any further Action at that time, those that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main Guard, having first made a Shot upon the *Indians* as they ran away into a Swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at *Narhaganset*: This resolute Charge of the English-Forces upon the Enemy made them quit their Place on *Mount-hope* that very Night, where *Philip* was never seen after, till the next Year, when he was by a divine Mandate sent back, there to receive the Reward of his Wickedness where he first began his Mischief.

William Hubbard, from whose *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* the account of the beginning of Philip's War given in the present leaflet is taken, was born in 1621, was one of the first class of graduates at Harvard College in 1642, was settled in the ministry at Ipswich about 1666, and died in 1704. Rev. John Eliot, at one time the Corresponding Secretary of the Mass. Historical Society, wrote of him: "Mr. Hubbard was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex, equal to any in the province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer." Besides his *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*, he wrote a *General History of New England, from the Discovery to 1680*, which holds an important place among the early histories. The Massachusetts General Court, in 1682, granted fifty pounds to the author "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, "he transcribing it fairly that it may be the more easily perused." The original rough draft and the corrected copy of the manuscript of this work are in the possession of the Mass. Historical Society, which in 1815, and again in 1848, printed good editions of it. A copy of a part of Hubbard's map of New England (1677), showing the settlements along the coast from Cape Ann to Plymouth, may

be seen in the *Memorial History of Boston*, i, 328. There is a beautiful edition of the *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*, edited by Drake.

The best account of the original authorities concerning Philip's War is that by Justin Winsor, in the *Memorial History of Boston*, i, 327, appended to the interesting chapter on "Boston in Philip's War," by Edward Everett Hale. See also Mr. Winsor's notes in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iii, 360. Increase Mather, in his *Early History of New England*, discusses briefly the origin of the war; and he devoted a special volume to the war—*A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England, from June 24, 1675, to Aug. 12, 1676*. This was published in London in 1676, and in Boston the same year. There is a fine edition of it edited by S. G. Drake, in which Cotton Mather's account of the war in his *Magnalia* is also included. This latter account was written twenty years after the war, and its author had the use of Hubbard's valuable *Narrative* in preparing it. Winsor rightly pronounces Hubbard's work "a better account than Increase Mather's;" and Palfrey, to whose *History of New England* the student is referred for perhaps the best general modern account of the war, thinks Hubbard had good opportunity. John Easton, a Rhode Island Quaker, wrote a *Narrative of the Causes which led to Philip's War*, holding that the faults were not all on the side of the Indians. It should be remarked in general that almost all the old colonial accounts are more or less unfair toward the Indians. Thomas Church, a son of Colonel Benjamin Church, the hero of the war on the side of the colonists and the conqueror of Philip, wrote for his father an account of the war, entitled *Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War*, which the student should consult in the beautiful edition edited by Rev. Henry M. Dexter. In Drake's *Book of the Indians*, in Baylies' *Old Colony*, in Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, in Bancroft's *United States* and in all the common histories can be found good accounts of Philip's War and of the other early troubles with the Indians, sufficient for the general reader. There is also much valuable material in many of the local histories, such as Hudson's *History of Sudbury* and the various works relating to Deerfield and the other Connecticut river towns.



Old South Leaflets.

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The Speech of Pontiac

AT THE COUNCIL AT THE RIVER ECORCES, APRIL 27,
1763.

From Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

THE spot appointed for the council was on the banks of the little River Ecorces, not far from Detroit. Thither went Pontiac himself, with his squaws and his children. Band after band came straggling in from every side, until the meadow was thickly dotted with their frail wigwams. Here were idle warriors smoking and laughing in groups, or beguiling the lazy hours with gambling, feasting, or doubtful stories of their own martial exploits. Here were youthful gallants bedizened with all the foppery of beads, feathers, and hawks' bells, but held as yet in light esteem since they had slain no enemy, and taken no scalp. Here too were young damsels, radiant with bear's oil, ruddy with vermillion, and versed in all the arts of forest coquetry; shrivelled hags, with limbs of wire, and the voices of screech-owls; and troops of naked children, with small, black, mischievous eyes, roaming along the outskirts of the woods.

The great Roman historian observes of the ancient Germans, that when summoned to a public meeting, they would lag behind the appointed time in order to show their independence. The remark holds true, and perhaps with greater emphasis, of the American Indians; and thus it happened, that several days elapsed before the assembly was complete. In such a motley concourse of barbarians, where different bands and different tribes were mustered on one common camp ground, it would need all the art of a prudent leader to prevent their dormant

jealousies from starting into open strife. No people are more prompt to quarrel, and none more prone, in the fierce excitement of the present, to forget the purpose of the future ; yet, through good fortune, or the wisdom of Pontiac, no rupture occurred ; and at length the last loiterer appeared, and farther delay was needless.

The council took place on the twenty-seventh of April. On that morning, several old men, the heralds of the camp, passed to and fro among the lodges, calling the warriors, in a loud voice, to attend the meeting.

In accordance with the summons, they issued from their cabins : the tall, naked figures of the wild Ojibwas, with quivers slung at their backs, and light war-clubs resting in the hollow of their arms ; Ottawas, wrapped close in their gaudy blankets ; Wyandots, fluttering in painted shirts, their heads adorned with feathers, and their leggins garnished with bells. All were soon seated in a wide circle upon the grass, row within row, a grave and silent assembly. Each savage countenance seemed carved in wood, and none could have detected the ferocious passions hidden beneath that immovable mask. Pipes with ornamented stems were lighted, and passed from hand to hand.

Then Pontiac rose, and walked forward into the midst of the council. According to Canadian tradition, he was not above the middle height, though his muscular figure was cast in a mould of remarkable symmetry and vigor. His complexion was darker than is usual with his race, and his features, though by no means regular, had a bold and stern expression ; while his habitual bearing was imperious and peremptory, like that of a man accustomed to sweep away all opposition by the force of his impetuous will. His ordinary attire was that of the primitive savage — a scanty cincture girt about his loins, and his long, black hair flowing loosely at his back ; but on occasions like this he was wont to appear as befitted his power and character, and he stood doubtless before the council plumed and painted in the full costume of war.

Looking round upon his wild auditors he began to speak, with fierce gesture, and a loud, impassioned voice ; and at every pause, deep, guttural ejaculations of assent and approval responded to his words. He inveighed against the arrogance, rapacity, and injustice, of the English, and contrasted them with the French, whom they had driven from the soil. He declared that the British commandant had treated him with neglect and contempt ; that the soldiers of the garrison had abused the

Indians ; and that one of them had struck a follower of his own. He represented the danger that would arise from the supremacy of the English. They had expelled the French, and now they only waited for a pretext to turn upon the Indians and destroy them. Then, holding out a broad belt of wampum, he told the council that he had received it from their great father the King of France, in token that he had heard the voice of his red children ; that his sleep was at an end ; and that his great war canoes would soon sail up the St. Lawrence, to win back Canada, and wreak vengeance on his enemies. The Indians and their French brethren would fight once more side by side, as they had always fought ; they would strike the English as they had struck them many moons ago, when their great army marched down the Monongahela, and they had shot them from their ambush, like a flock of pigeons in the woods.

Having roused in his warlike listeners their native thirst for blood and vengeance, he next addressed himself to their superstition, and told the following tale. Its precise origin is not easy to determine. It is possible that the Delaware prophet, mentioned in a former chapter, may have had some part in it ; or it might have been the offspring of Pontiac's heated imagination, during his period of fasting and dreaming. That he deliberately invented it for the sake of the effect it would produce, is the least probable conclusion of all ; for it evidently proceeds from the superstitious mind of an Indian, brooding upon the evil days in which his lot was cast, and turning for relief to the mysterious Author of his being. It is, at all events, a characteristic specimen of the Indian legendary tales, and, like many of them, bears an allegoric significancy. Yet he who endeavors to interpret an Indian allegory through all its erratic windings and puerile inconsistencies, has undertaken no enviable task.

"A Delaware Indian," said Pontiac, "conceived an eager desire to learn wisdom from the Master of Life ; but, being ignorant where to find him, he had recourse to fasting, dreaming, and magical incantations. By these means it was revealed to him, that, by moving forward in a straight, undeviating course, he would reach the abode of the Great Spirit. He told his purpose to no one, and having provided the equipments of a hunter—gun, powder-horn, ammunition, and a kettle for preparing his food—he set out on his errand. For some time he journeyed on in high hope and confidence. On the evening of the eighth day, he stopped by the side of a brook

at the edge of a meadow, where he began to make ready his evening meal, when, looking up, he saw three large openings in the woods before him, and three well-beaten paths which entered them. He was much surprised ; but his wonder increased, when, after it had grown dark, the three paths were more clearly visible than ever. Remembering the important object of his journey, he could neither rest nor sleep ; and, leaving his fire, he crossed the meadow, and entered the largest of the three openings. He had advanced but a short distance into the forest, when a bright flame sprang out of the ground before him, and arrested his steps. In great amazement, he turned back, and entered the second path, where the same wonderful phenomenon again encountered him ; and now, in terror and bewilderment, yet still resolved to persevere, he took the last of the three paths. On this he journeyed a whole day without interruption, when at length, emerging from the forest, he saw before him a vast mountain, of dazzling whiteness. So precipitous was the ascent, that the Indian thought it hopeless to go farther, and looked around him in despair : at that moment, he saw, seated at some distance above, the figure of a beautiful woman arrayed in white, who arose as he looked upon her, and thus accosted him : 'How can you hope, encumbered as you are, to succeed in your design ? Go down to the foot of the mountain, throw away your gun, your ammunition, your provisions, and your clothing ; wash yourself in the stream which flows there, and you will then be prepared to stand before the Master of Life.' The Indian obeyed, and again began to ascend among the rocks, while the woman, seeing him still discouraged, laughed at his faintness of heart, and told him that, if he wished for success, he must climb by the aid of one hand and one foot only. After great toil and suffering he at length found himself at the summit. The woman had disappeared, and he was left alone. A rich and beautiful plain lay before him, and at a little distance he saw three great villages, far superior to the squalid wigwams of the Delawares. As he approached the largest, and stood hesitating whether he should enter, a man gorgeously attired stepped forth, and, taking him by the hand, welcomed him to the celestial abode. He then conducted him into the presence of the Great Spirit, where the Indian stood confounded at the unspeakable splendor which surrounded him. The Great Spirit bade him be seated, and thus addressed him : —

“I am the Maker of heaven and earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, and all things else. I am the Maker of mankind; and because I love you, you must do my will. The land on which you live I have made for you, and not for others. Why do you suffer the white men to dwell among you? My children, you have forgotten the customs and traditions of your forefathers. Why do you not clothe yourselves in skins, as they did, and use the bows and arrows, and the stone-pointed lances, which they used? You have bought guns, knives, kettles, and blankets, from the white men, until you can no longer do without them; and, what is worse, you have drunk the poison fire-water, which turns you into fools. Fling all these things away; live as your wise forefathers lived before you. And as for these English,—these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting-grounds, and drive away the game,—you must lift the hatchet against them. Wipe them from the face of the earth, and then you will win my favor back again, and once more be happy and prosperous. The children of your great father, the King of France, are not like the English. Never forget that they are your brethren. They are very dear to me, for they love the red men, and understand the true mode of worshipping me.”

The Great Spirit next gave his hearer various precepts of morality and religion, such as the prohibition to marry more than one wife; and a warning against the practice of magic, which is worshipping the devil. A prayer, embodying the substance of all that he had heard, was then presented to the Delaware. It was cut in hieroglyphics upon a wooden stick, after the custom of his people; and he was directed to send copies of it to all the Indian villages.

The adventurer now departed, and, returning to the earth, reported all the wonders he had seen in the celestial regions.

Such was the tale told by Pontiac to the council; and it is worthy of notice, that not he alone, but many of the most notable men who have arisen among the Indians, have been opponents of civilization, and stanch advocates of primitive barbarism. Red Jacket and Tecumseh would gladly have brought back their people to the rude simplicity of their original condition. There is nothing progressive in the rigid, inflexible nature of an Indian. He will not open his mind to the idea of improvement; and nearly every change that has been forced upon him has been a change for the worse.

Many other speeches were doubtless made in the council, but no record of them has been preserved. All present were eager

to attack the British fort ; and Pontiac told them, in conclusion, that on the second of May he would gain admittance with a party of his warriors, on pretence of dancing the calumet dance before the garrison ; that they would take note of the strength of the fortification ; and that he would then summon another council to determine the mode of attack.

The assembly now dissolved, and all the evening the women were employed in loading the canoes, which were drawn up on the bank of the stream. The encampments broke up at so early an hour, that when the sun rose, the savage swarm had melted away ; the secluded scene was restored to its wonted silence and solitude, and nothing remained but the slender frame-work of several hundred cabins, with fragments of broken utensils, pieces of cloth, and scraps of hide, scattered over the trampled grass ; while the smouldering embers of numberless fires mingled their dark smoke with the white mist which rose from the little river.

Extract from "The Red Man and the White Man in North America,"
by Dr. George E. Ellis.

Then came upon the scene that ablest and most daring and resolute savage chieftain known in our history. There have been three conspicuous men of the native race—the towering chieftains of the forest, signal types of all the characteristics of the savage, ennobled, so to speak, by their lofty patriotism,—who have appeared on the scene of action at the three most critical eras for the white man on this continent. If the material and stock of such men are not exhausted, there is no longer for them a sphere, a range, an occasion or opportunity in place or time here. The white man is the master of this continent. An Indian conspiracy would prove abortive in the paucity or discordancy of its materials. What the great sachem Metacomet, or King Philip, was in the first rooting of the New England colonies, which he throttled almost to the death throee ; what Tecumseh was in the internal shocks attending our last war with Great Britain,—Pontiac, a far greater man than either of them, in council and on the field, was in the strain and stress of the occasion offered to him after the cession of Canada. Pontiac conceived, and to a large extent effected, the compacted organization of many of the most powerful of the Western tribes, in a conspiracy for crushing the English as they were about to take possession of unbounded territory here in the name and right of the British crown. Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawas, and the recognized dictator of many affiliated tribes, as well as an able reconciler of hostile tribes, was a master of men. Then in the vigor of his life, he exhibited signally that marked character-

istic of all the ablest, bravest, and most dangerous of the native chiefs who have most resolutely resisted successive European encroachments on their domain: namely this, that while especially well-informed and familiar with the resources and appliances, and supposed advantages of a state of civilization, they have most passionately repelled and scorned it, and stubbornly avowed a preference for their own wild state of Nature,—the forest and lake and river, with their free range,—and the simple nakedness of its indolence and activity. We must allow Pontiac, by anticipation, this mention here, because he represented France, among the savages, as its avenger. When he first encountered small detachments of the English forces penetrating the lake and wilderness highways to establish themselves in the strongholds to be yielded up by the French, he seemed for a brief interval disposed to reconcile himself to the change of intruders, and to receive the new comers with a real or a feigned tolerance. But his stern purpose, if not before conceived, was soon wrought into a bold and far-reaching design, with a plan which, as a whole, and in the disposal of its parts and details, exhibits his own great qualities. His plan was to engage all the Indian tribes in defying the hated intruders and keeping the heritage of their fathers inviolate for their posterity. So far as he could impart to or rouse in other native chieftains his own sad prescience of their doom, or stir in them the fires of their own passions, he could engage them in that plan. He roamed amid the villages of many scattered tribes, and to others he sent messengers bearing the war-belt and the battle-cry. He held councils, the solemn, meditative silence of which he broke by impassioned appeals, sharpened with bitter taunts and darkened by sombre prophecies, in all the fervent picture-eloquence of the forests, to inflame the rage of his wild hearers and to turn them on the war-path.

An account of the *Pontiac Manuscript*, from which the report of the speech of Pontiac given in the present leaflet was condensed by Mr. Parkman, may be found in the appendix to the second volume of *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, p. 328. Mr. Parkman's history of the conspiracy and his references to authorities are in every way so complete that no other work need here be mentioned in connection with the subject. Mr. Parkman holds that "the American forest never produced a man more shrewd, politic and ambitious" than Pontiac. "He was artful and treacherous, bold, fierce, ambitious and revengeful; yet . . . noble and generous thought was no stranger to the savage hero." "Pontiac was a thorough savage, and in him stand forth, in strongest light and shadow, the native faults and virtues of the Indian race." In describing the country about Detroit on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities, Mr. Parkman writes as follows:

"Pontiac, the Satan of this forest paradise, was accustomed to spend the early part of the summer upon a small island at the opening of the Lake

St. Clair, hidden from view by the high woods that covered the intervening Isle au Cochon. 'The king and lord of all this country,' as Rogers calls him, lived in no royal state. His cabin was a small oven-shaped structure of bark and rushes. Here he dwelt, with his squaws and children; and here, doubtless, he might often have been seen, lounging, half-naked, on a rush mat, or a bear-skin, like any ordinary warrior. We may fancy the current of his thoughts, the turmoil of his uncurbed passions, as he revolved the treacheries which, to his savage mind, seemed fair and honorable. At one moment, his fierce heart would burn with the anticipation of vengeance on the detested English; at another, he would meditate how he best might turn the approaching tumults to the furtherance of his own ambitious schemes. Yet we may believe that Pontiac was not a stranger to the high emotion of the patriot hero, the champion not merely of his nation's rights, but of the very existence of his race. He did not dream how desperate a game he was about to play. He hourly flattered himself with the futile hope of aid from France, and thought in his ignorance that the British colonies must give way before the rush of his savage warriors; when, in truth, all the combined tribes of the forest might have chafed in vain rage against the rock-like strength of the Anglo-Saxon."



The Cause of Black Hawk's War.

FROM BLACK HAWK'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

My reason teaches me that *land cannot be sold*. The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon, and cultivate, as far as is necessary for their subsistence; and so long as they occupy and cultivate it, they have the right to the soil—but if they voluntarily leave it, then any other people have a right to settle upon it. Nothing can be sold, but such things as can be carried away.

In consequence of the improvements of the intruders on our fields, we found considerable difficulty to get ground to plant a little corn. Some of the whites permitted us to plant small patches in the fields they had fenced, keeping all the best ground for themselves. Our women had great difficulty in climbing their fences, (being unaccustomed to the kind,) and were ill-treated if they left a rail down.

One of my old friends thought he was safe. His corn-field was on a small island of Rock river. He planted his corn; it came up well—but the white man saw it!—he wanted the island, and took his team over, ploughed up the corn, and replanted it for himself! The old man shed tears; not for himself, but the distress his family would be in if they raised no corn.

The white people brought whiskey into our village, made our people drunk, and cheated them out of their horses, guns, and traps! This fraudulent system was carried to such an extent that I apprehended serious difficulties might take place, unless a stop was put to it. Consequently, I visited all the whites and begged them not to sell whiskey to my people. One of them continued the practice openly. I took a party of

my young men, went to his house, and took out his barrel and broke in the head and turned out the whiskey. I did this for fear some of the whites might be killed by my people when drunk.

Our people were treated badly by the whites on many occasions. At one time, a white man beat one of our women cruelly, for pulling a few suckers of corn out of his field, to suck, when hungry! At another time, one of our young men was beat with clubs by two white men for opening a fence which crossed our road, to take his horse through. His shoulder blade was broken, and his body badly bruised, from which he soon after *died!*

Bad, and cruel, as our people were treated by the whites, not one of them was hurt or molested by any of my band. I hope this will prove that we are a peaceable people—having permitted ten men to take possession of our corn-fields; prevent us from planting corn; burn and destroy our lodges; ill-treat our women; and *beat to death* our men, without offering resistance to their barbarous cruelties. This is a lesson worthy for the white man to learn, to use forbearance when injured.

We acquainted our agent daily with our situation, and through him, the great chief at St. Louis—and hoped that something would be done for us. The whites were *complaining* at the same time that *we* were *intruding* upon *their rights!* *THEY* made themselves out the *injured* party, and *we* the *intruders!* and called loudly to the great war chief to protect *their* property!

How smooth must be the language of the whites, when they can make right look like wrong, and wrong like right!

During this summer, I happened at Rock Island, when a great chief arrived, whom I had known as the great chief of Illinois, [Governor Cole,] in company with another chief, who, I have been told, is a great writer, [Judge Jas. Hall.] I called upon them and begged to explain to them the grievances under which me and my people were laboring, hoping that they could do something for us. The great chief, however, did not seem disposed to counsel with me. He said he was no longer the great chief of Illinois—that his children had selected another father in his stead, and that he now only ranked as they did. I was surprised at this talk, as I had always heard that he was a good, brave, and great chief. But the white people never appear to be satisfied. When they get a good father, they hold councils, (at the suggestion of some bad, ambitious man, who wants the place himself,) and conclude, among themselves, that this man,

or some other equally ambitious, would make a better father than they have, and nine times out of ten they don't get as good a one again.

I insisted on explaining to these two chiefs the true situation of my people. They gave their assent: I rose and made a speech, in which I explained to them the treaty made by Quásh-quá-me, and three of our braves, according to the manner the trader and others had explained it to me. I then told them that Quásh-quá-me and his party *denied*, positively, having ever sold my village; and that, as I had never known them to *lie*, I was determined to keep it in possession.

I told them that the white people had already entered our village, *burnt our lodges, destroyed our fences, ploughed up our corn, and beat our people*; that they had brought *whiskey* into our country, *made our people drunk*, and taken from them their *horses, guns, and traps*; and that I had borne all this injury, without suffering any of my braves to raise a hand against the whites.

My object in holding this council was to get the opinion of these two chiefs as to the best course for me to pursue. I had appealed in vain, time after time, to our agent, who regularly represented our situation to the great chief at St. Louis, whose duty it was to call upon our Great Father to have justice done to us; but instead of this, we are told *that the white people want our country, and we must leave it to them!*

I did not think it possible that our Great Father wished us to leave our village, where we had lived so long, and where the bones of so many of our people had been laid. The great chief said that, as he was no longer a chief, he could do nothing for us; and felt sorry that it was not in his power to aid us—nor did he know how to advise us. Neither of them could do anything for us; but both evidently appeared very sorry. It would give me great pleasure, at all times, to take these two chiefs by the hand.

That fall I paid a visit to the agent, before we started to our hunting grounds, to hear if he had any good news for me. He had news! He said that the land on which our village stood was now ordered to be sold to individuals: and that, when sold, *our right* to remain, by treaty, would be at an end, and that if we returned next spring, we would be *forced* to remove!

We learned during the winter that *part* of the lands where our village stood had been sold to individuals, and that ~~we~~

trader at Rock Island had bought the greater part that had been sold. The reason was now plain to me, why *he* urged us to remove. His object, we thought, was to get our lands. We held several councils that winter to determine what we should do, and resolved, in one of them, to return to our village in the spring, as usual; and concluded, that if we were removed by force, that the *trader*, agent, and others, must be the cause; and that, if found guilty of having us driven from our village, they should be *killed*! The *trader* stood foremost on this list. He had purchased the land on which my lodge stood, and that of our *grave yard* also! Ne-a-pope promised to kill him, the agent, interpreter, the great chief at St. Louis, the war chief at fort Armstrong, Rock Island, and Ke-o-kuck—these being the principal persons to blame for endeavoring to remove us.

Our women received bad accounts from the women that had been raising corn at the new village—the difficulty of breaking the new prairie with hoes—and the small quantity of corn raised. We were nearly in the same situation in regard to the latter, it being the first time I ever knew our people to be in want of provision.

I prevailed upon some of Ke-o-kuck's band to return this spring to the Rock river village. Ke-o-kuck would not return with us. I hoped that we would get permission to go to Washington to settle our affairs with our Great Father. I visited the agent at Rock Island. He was displeased because we had returned to our village, and told me that we *must* remove to the west of the Mississippi. I told him plainly that we *would not*! I visited the interpreter at his house, who advised me to do as the agent had directed me. I then went to see the *trader*, and upbraided him for buying our lands. He said that if he had not purchased them, some person else would, and that if our Great Father would make an exchange with us, he would willingly give up the land he had purchased to the government. This I thought was fair, and began to think that he had not acted as badly as I had suspected. We again repaired our lodges, and built others, as most of our village had been burnt and destroyed. Our women selected small patches to plant corn, (where the whites had not taken them within their fences,) and worked hard to raise something for our children to subsist upon.

I was told that, according to the treaty, we had no *right* to remain upon the lands *sold*, and that the government would *force* us to leave them. There was but a small portion, how-

ever, that *had been sold*; the balance remaining in the hands of the government we claimed the right (if we had no other) to "live and hunt upon, as long as it remained the property of the government," by a stipulation in the same treaty that required us to evacuate it *after* it had been sold. This was the land that we wished to inhabit, and thought we had the best right to occupy.

I heard that there was a great chief on the Wabash, and sent a party to get his advice. They informed him that we had not sold our village. He assured them, then, that if we had not sold the land on which our village stood, our Great Father would not take it from us.

I started early to Malden to see the chief of my British Father, and told him my story. He gave the same reply that the chief on the Wabash had given; and in justice to him, I must say that he never gave me any bad advice; but advised me to apply to our American Father, who, he said, would do us justice. I next called on the great chief at Detroit, and made the same statement to him that I had to the chief of our British Father. He gave the same reply. He said, if we had not sold our lands, and would remain peaceably on them, that we would not be disturbed. This assured me that I was right, and determined me to hold out, as I had promised my people.

I returned from Malden late in the fall. My people were gone to their hunting ground, whither I followed. Here I learned that they had been badly treated all summer by the whites; and that a treaty had been held at Prairie du Chien. Ke-o-kuck and some of our people attended it, and found out that our Great Father had exchanged a small strip of the land that was ceded by Quàsh-quà-me and his party, with the Pottowatomies, for a portion of their land, near Chicago; and that the object of this treaty was to get it back again; and that the United States had agreed to give them *sixteen thousand dollars a year forever*, for this small strip of land—it being less than the twentieth part of that taken from our nation, for *one thousand dollars a year*! This bears evidence of something I cannot explain. This land, they say, belonged to the United States. What reason, then, could have induced them to exchange it with the Pottowatomies, if it was so valuable? Why not keep it? Or, if they found that they had made a bad bargain with the Pottowatomies, why not take back their land at a fair proportion of what they gave our nation for it? If this small portion of the land that they took from us for *one thousand dollars a*

year, be worth *sixteen thousand dollars a year forever*, to the Potawatomies, then the whole tract of country taken from us ought to be worth, to our nation, *twenty times* as much as this small fraction.

Here I was again puzzled to find out how the white people reasoned; and began to doubt whether they had any standard of right and wrong!

Communication was kept up between myself and the Prophet. Runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red river and Texas—not on the subject of our lands, but a secret mission, which I am not, at present, permitted to explain.

It was related to me, that the chiefs and headmen of the Foxes had been invited to Prairie du Chien, to hold a council to settle the differences existing between them and the Sioux. That the chiefs and headmen, amounting to *nine*, started for the place designated, taking with them one woman—and were ~~met~~ by the Menomonees and Sioux, near the Ouisconsin, and all *killed*, except one man. Having understood that the whole matter was published shortly after it *occurred*, and is known to the white people, I will say no more about it.

I would here remark, that our pastimes and *sports* had been laid aside for the last two years. We were a divided people, forming two parties. Ke-o-kuck being at the head of one, willing to barter our *rights* merely for the good opinion of the *whites*; and cowardly enough to desert our village to *them*. I was at the head of the other party, and was determined to hold on to my village, although I had been *ordered* to leave it. But, I considered, as myself and band had no agency in *selling* our country—and that as provision had been made in the *treaty* for us all to remain on it as long as it belonged to the United States, that we could not be *forced* away. I refused, therefore, to quit my village. It was here that I was born—and here lie the bones of many friends and relations. For this spot I felt a sacred reverence, and never could consent to leave it, without being forced therefrom.

When I called to mind the scenes of my youth, and those of later days—and reflected that the theatre on which these were acted had been so long the home of my fathers, who now slept on the hills around it, I could not bring my mind to consent to leave this country to the whites, for any earthly consideration.

The winter passed off in gloom. We made a bad hunt, for want of the guns, traps, &c., that the whites had taken from our

people for whiskey! The prospect before us was a bad one. I fasted, and called upon the Great Spirit to direct my steps to the right path. I was in great sorrow—because all the whites with whom I was acquainted, and had been on terms of friendship, advised me so contrary to my wishes, that I began to doubt whether I had a *friend* among them.

Ke-o-kuck, who has a smooth tongue, and is a great speaker, was busy in persuading my band that I was wrong—and thereby making many of them dissatisfied with me. I had one consolation—for all the women were on my side, on account of their cornfields.

On my arrival again at my village, with my band increased, I found it worse than before. I visited Rock Island. The agent again ordered me to quit my village. He said that, if we did not, troops would be sent to drive us off. He reasoned with me, and told me it would be better for us to be with the rest of our people, so that we might avoid difficulty, and live in peace. The *interpreter* joined him, and gave me so many good reasons, that I almost wished I had not undertaken the difficult task that I had pledged myself to my brave band to perform. In this mood, I called upon the *trader*, who is fond of talking, and had long been my friend, but now amongst those advising me to give up my village. He received me very friendly, and went on to defend Ke-o-kuck in what he had done, and endeavored to show me that I was bringing distress on our women and children. He inquired if some terms could not be made that would be honorable to me, and satisfactory to my braves, for us to remove to the west side of the Mississippi? I replied, that if our Great Father would do us justice, and would make the proposition, I could then give up honorably. He asked me, "if the great chief at St. Louis would give us six thousand dollars to purchase provisions and other articles, if I would give up peaceably, and remove to the west side of the Mississippi?" After thinking some time, I agreed that I could honorably give up, by being paid for it, according to our customs; but told him that I could not make the proposal myself, even if I wished, because it would be dishonorable in me to do so. He said he would do it, by sending word to the great chief at St. Louis that he could remove us peaceably, for the amount stated, to the west side of the Mississippi. A steamboat arrived at the island during my stay. After its departure, the *trader* told me that he had "requested a war chief, who is stationed at Galena, and was on board of the steamboat, to

make the offer to the great chief at St. Louis, and that he would soon be back, and bring his answer." I did not let my people know what had taken place, for fear they would be displeased. I did not much like what had been done myself, and tried to banish it from my mind.

After a few days had passed, the war chief returned, and brought for answer, that "the great chief at St. Louis would give us *nothing!* — and said if we did not remove immediately, we should be *drove off!*"

I was not much displeased with the answer brought by the war chief, because I would rather have laid my bones with my forefathers, than remove for any consideration. Yet if a friendly offer had been made, as I expected, I would, for the sake of my women and children, have removed peaceably.

I now resolved to remain in my village, and make no resistance, if the military came, but submit to my fate! I impressed the importance of this course on all my band, and directed them, in case the military came, not to raise an arm against them.

About this time, our agent was put out of office — for what reason, I never could ascertain. I then thought, if it was for wanting to make us leave our village, it was right — because I was tired of hearing him talk about it. The interpreter, who had been equally as bad in trying to persuade us to leave our village, was retained in office — and the young man who took the place of our agent told the same old story over about removing us. I was then satisfied that this could not have been the cause.

Our women had planted a few patches of corn, which was growing finely, and promised a subsistence for our children — but the *white people again commenced ploughing it up!* I now determined to put a stop to it, by clearing our country of the *intruders*. I went to the principal men and told them that they must and should leave our country — and gave them until the middle of the next day to remove in. The worst left within the time appointed — but the one who remained, represented that his family, (which was large,) would be in a starving condition, if he went and left his crop — and promised to behave well, if I would consent to let him remain until fall, in order to secure his crop. He spoke reasonably, and I consented.

We now resumed some of our games and pastimes — having *been assured* by the prophet that we would not be removed. *But in a little while* it was ascertained that a great war chief,

[Gen. Gaines,] with a large number of soldiers, was on his way to Rock river. I again called upon the prophet, who requested a little time to see into the matter. Early next morning he came to me, and said he had been *dreaming!* "That he saw nothing bad in this great war chief, [Gen. Gaines,] who was now near Rock river. That the *object* of his mission was to *frighten* us from our village, that the white people might get our land for *nothing!*" He assured us that this "great war chief dare not, and would not, hurt any of us. That the Americans were at peace with the British, and when they made peace, the British required, (which the Americans agreed to,) that they should never interrupt any nation of Indians that was at peace — and that all we had to do to retain our village was to *refuse* any and every offer that might be made by this war chief."

The war chief arrived, and convened a council at the agency. Ke-o-kuck and Wà-pel-lo were sent for, and came with a number of their band. The council house was opened, and they were all admitted. Myself and band were then sent for to attend the council. When we arrived at the door, singing a *war song*, and armed with lances, spears, war clubs and bows and arrows, as if going to battle, I halted, and refused to enter — as I could see no necessity or propriety in having the room crowded with those who were already there. If the council was convened for us, why have others there in our room? The war chief having sent all out, except Ke-o-kuck, Wà-pel-lo, and a few of their chiefs and braves, we entered the council house, in this war-like appearance, being desirous to show the war chief that we were *not afraid!* He then rose and made a speech.

He said:

"The president is very sorry to be put to the trouble and expense of sending a large body of soldiers here, to remove you from the lands you have long since ceded to the United States. Your Great Father has already warned you repeatedly, through your agent, to leave the country; and he is very sorry to find that you have disobeyed his orders. Your Great Father wishes you well: and asks nothing from you but what is reasonable and right. I hope you will consult your own interest, and leave the country you are occupying, and go to the other side of the Mississippi."

I replied: "That *we* had never sold our country. *We* never received any annuities from our American father! And we are determined to hold on to our village!"

The war chief, apparently angry, rose and said : — “ Who is *Black Hawk* ? Who is *Black Hawk* ? ”

I responded :

“ I am a *Sac* ! my forefather was a *SAC* ! and all the nations call me a *SAC* ! ! ”

The war chief said :

“ I came here, neither to *beg* nor *hire* you to leave your village. My business is to remove you, peaceably if I can, but *forcibly* if I must ! I will now give you two days to remove in — and if you do not cross the Mississippi within that time, I will adopt measures to *force* you away ! ”

I told him that I never could consent to leave my village, and was determined not to leave it ! The council broke up, and the war chief retired to the fort.

BLACK HAWK'S SPEECH, ON HIS SURRENDER AT
PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, AUGUST 27, 1832.

“ You have taken me prisoner with all my warriors. I am much grieved, for I expected, if I did not defeat you, to hold out much longer, and give you more trouble before I surrendered. I tried hard to bring you into ambush, but your last general understands Indian fighting. The first one was not so wise. When I saw that I could not beat you by Indian fighting, I determined to rush on you, and fight you face to face. I fought hard. But your guns were well aimed. The bullets flew like birds in the air, and whizzed by our ears like the wind through the trees in the winter. My warriors fell around me ; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose dim on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. That was the last sun that shone on *Black-hawk*. His heart is dead, and no longer beats quick in his bosom. — He is now a prisoner to the white men ; they will do with him as they wish. But he can stand torture, and is not afraid of death. He is no coward. *Black-hawk* is an Indian.

“ He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, the squaws and papooses, against white men, who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies ; Indians do not steal.

“ An Indian, who is as bad as the white men, could not live in our nation ; he would be put to death, and eat up by the wolves. The

white men are bad schoolmasters; they carry false looks, and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them, and ruin our wives. We told them to let us alone, and keep away from us; but they followed on, and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us, like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe. We lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars, adulterers, lazy drones, all talkers, and no workers.

"We looked up to the Great Spirit. We went to our great father. We were encouraged. His great council gave us fair words and big promises; but we got no satisfaction. Things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opossum and beaver were fled; the springs were drying up, and our squaws and papooses without victuals to keep them from starving; we called a great council, and built a large fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. We all spoke before the council fire. It was warm and pleasant. We set up the war-whoop, and dug up the tomahawk; our knives were ready, and the heart of *Black-hawk* swelled high in his bosom, when he led his warriors to battle. He is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet him there, and commend him.

"*Black-hawk* is a true Indian, and disdains to cry like a woman. He feels for his wife, his children and friends. But he does not care for himself. He cares for his nation and the Indians. They will suffer. He laments their fate. The white men do not scalp the head; but they do worse—they poison the heart; it is not pure with them.—His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that you can't trust them, and there must be, as in the white settlements, nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order.

"Farewell, my nation! *Black-hawk* tried to save you, and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to *Black-hawk*."

Black Hawk, the famous chief of the Sac and Fox tribes, was by birth a Pottawattamie. His Indian name was Makataimeshekiakiak. He was born in 1767. About 1788 he succeeded his father as head chief of the Sacs. In 1804 the Sacs and Foxes signed a treaty with Gen. Harrison at St. Louis, by which for an annuity of \$1,000 they transferred their lands, extending about 700 miles along the Mississippi river, to the U. S. Government. This treaty was repudiated by Black Hawk, who averred that the chiefs were drunk when they signed it. In the war of 1812 he joined the British near Detroit with 500 warriors. After the war Black

Hawk himself signed a treaty at St. Louis, ratifying the earlier cession of the lands. In 1823 the main body of the Sacs and Foxes, under Keokuk, removed to their reservation west of the Mississippi; but Black Hawk and his followers remained. By a new treaty signed by Keokuk and other chiefs in 1830, the lands east of the Mississippi were ceded to the whites. The removal west, however, was opposed by Black Hawk, and the Black Hawk war grew out of the attempts of the whites to occupy the territory. The war, in which Gen. Gaines and Gen. Scott took part, ended in the complete defeat of the Indians by Gen. Atkinson, and the surrender of Black Hawk, in August, 1832. Black Hawk, with his two sons and seven other chiefs, were taken through the principal eastern cities, and then confined in Fortress Monroe until June, 1833. Black Hawk died at his camp on the river Des Moines, Oct. 3, 1838.

Abraham Lincoln served in an Illinois company in the Black Hawk war, and accounts of his service may be found in the various lives of Lincoln. General accounts of the war may be found in the various Indian histories by Drake and others, as well as in the common histories of the United States. The autobiography from which the contents of the present leaflet are taken was dictated to an interpreter named Antoine Leclair after Black Hawk's return to his people in 1833, and edited by J. B. Patterson of Rockford, Ills.

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EIGHTH SERIES, 1890.

No. 7.

Coronado's Letter to Mendoza,

August 3, 1540.

THE RELATION OF FRANCIS VAZQUEZ DE CORONADO, CAPTAINE GENERALL OF THE PEOPLE WHICH WERE SENT IN THE NAME OF THE EMPEROURS MAIESTIE TO THE COUNTRYE OF CIBOLA NEWLY DISCOVERED, WHICH HE SENT TO DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA VICEROY OF MEXICO, OF SUCH THINGS AS HAPPENED IN HIS VOYAGE FROM THE 22. OF APRILL IN THE YEERE 1540. WHICH DEPARTED FROM CULIACAN FORWARD, AND OF SUCH THINGS AS HEE FOUND IN THE COUNTRY WHICH HE PASSED.

CHAP. 1.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from Culiacan, and after diuers troubles in his voyage, arriueth at the valley of the people called Los Caracones, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee sendeth to the valley called The valley of the Lord: he is informed of the greatnesse of the valley of the people called Caracones, and of the nature of those people, and of certaine Islands lying along that coast.

THE 22. of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned vnto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles haue bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in traauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs, and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with vs, that was aboute a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though wee put our

selues to such a small proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that possibly wee could take, wee were driuen to our ships. And no maruayle, because the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuses downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the passage of Riuers, the greater part of our corne was spoyled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawn in a Mappe, I will speake no more thereof in this my letter.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fiteene horses, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arriuall: who trauailed foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, sauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderstoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write vnto your Lordship therof.

It grieved the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceiued I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation vpon those seuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent vs for the prouision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the *rockes*. The lambes and sheepe lost their hooves in the way:

and of those which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the Riuer of Lachimi, because they could not keepe company with vs, and because they might come softly after vs, foure men on horsebacke remained with them which are now come vnto vs, and haue brought vs not past foure and twentie lambes, and foure sheepe, for all the rest were dead with trauailing through that rough passage, although they trauailed but two leagues a day, and rested themselues euery day.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, saue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leaue them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more store of people than in any other part of the Countrey which wee had passed, and great store of tillage. But I vnderstood that there was store thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not disturbe with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some, and to giue the sayde Maiz to the Indians our friendes which wee brought with vs, and to some others that had lost their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals so farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that wee gate some small quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releiued and some Spanyards.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelue of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want vnto vs for the performance of our enterprise. They tolde me that this valley of the Caracones is foue dayes iourney from the Western Sea. I sent for the Indians of the Sea coast to vnderstand their estate, and while I stayed for them the horses rested: and I stayed there foure dayes, in which space the Indians of the Sea coast came vnto mee: which told mee, that two dayes sayling from their coast of the Sea, there were seuen or eight Islands right ouer against them, well inhabited with people, but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had seene a Shippe passe by not farre from the shore: which I wote not what to thinke whither it were one of those that went to discouer the Countrey, or else a Ship of the Portugals,

CHAP. 2.

They come to Chichilticale: after they had rested themselves two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to trauaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleasant, and a riuer called Rio del Lino, they fight with the Indians being assaulted by them, and with victorie vanquishing their citie, they relieved themselves of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found myselfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall sayd that it was onely but fife leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceiued great grieue and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordship.

The Indians of Chichilticale say, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they goe trauersing, and are tenne dayes iourney in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians giue me should be true. The sea returneth toward the West right ouer against the Coracones the space of tenne or twelue leagues. Where I found that your Lordships ships were seene, which went to discover the hauens of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça sayd to bee in fife and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what grieue of mind I haue sustained: because I am in doubt that some mishappe is fallen vnto them: and if they follow the coast, as they sayde they would, as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they haue made some good discouerie, and that in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

I rested myselfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I should haue stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred: but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Iohns eue, and to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worsser way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke

of victuals. From this place I sent before mee one dayes journey the master of the fiede Don García Lopez de Cardenas with fiftene horses to discouer the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himselfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordship reposed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part: for as I haue enformed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirtie leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountaines.

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh riuers, and grasse like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from those of Spayne in the leafe: and there was Flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne riuier which therefore wee called El Rio del Lino, that is say, the riuier of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes trauaile, but afterward foure Indians came out vnto vs in peaceable maner, saying that they were sent euen to that desert place to signifie vnto vs that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete vs on the way with victuals: and the master of the fiede gaue them a crosse, willing them to signifie to those of their citie that they should not feare, and they should rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came onely in the name of his Maiestie to defend and ayd them.

And this done, Fernando Aluarado returned to aduertise mee that certaine Indians were come vnto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them stayed for my comming with the master of the fiede. Whereupon I went vnto them and gaue them beades and certaine short clokes, willing them to returne vnto their citie, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses, and feare nothing. And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against vs, and that hee should take and defend it vntill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might haue sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the master of the fiede was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreat sounded on a certaine small trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very same night the

master of the felde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behoued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and their made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderstanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

Assoone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Dôn Garcias Lopez Campemaster, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to aduertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maiestie had giuen vs in charge: which message was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy vs without any difficultie; and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

In the meane space I arriued with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at vs with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set vpon them, in any wise to prouoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set vpon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiuing that wee stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage vnto them: inso much that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set vpon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had beene if I would haue suffered them to haue bene pursued.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed *within at the first* were many, where the victuals were whereof

wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and deuided them as I thought best to assault the citie, and I compassed it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selues on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowes and harquebusiers shoulde giue the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde me there was a scaling ladder set vp, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the mischief they could: so that twise they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuerthelesse my companie tooke mee vp with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeilded themselues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our necessitie required. The Master of the felde, and Don Pedro de Touar, and Fernando de Aluarado, and Paul de Melgosa Captaines of the footemen escaped with certaine knocks with stones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the shot of on arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuco was shot into the face with another, and two footemen more had two small woundes with arrowes. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded than the rest, not that I did more than they, or put my selfe forwarder than the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recovered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the skirmish which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other souldiers were hurt, and three horses slaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonzo Manrique, and seven

or eight other horses were wounded; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

CHAP. 3.

Of the situation and state of the seven cities called the kingdome of Cibola, and of the customes and qualities of those people, and of the beasts which are found there.

IT remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seven cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, sauing onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor bricke, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure or fife lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers instead of staires, and certaine cellars vnder the ground very good and pauered, which are made for winter, they are in maner like stooques: and the lathers which they haue for their houses are all in a maner moueable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be. The seven cities are seven small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like vnto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together fife hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seven, & it is somewhat bigger than this, and another of the same bignes that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted vnto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne seeme vnto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such *as they should bee*, of that iudgement and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they *goe all naked*, except their priue partes which are couered:

and they haue painted mantles like those which I send vnto your lordship. They haue no cotton wooll growing, because the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and condicioned: And they haue Turqueses I thinke good quantitie, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conueyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth vnder fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes aboue sixtie, sauing two or three olde folkes, who stayed behinde to gouerne all the rest of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emralds, and certaine small stones broken which are in colour somewhat like Granates very bad, and other stones of Christall, which I gaue one of my seruants to lay vp to send them to your lordship, and hee hath lost them as hee telleth me. Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all these seuene cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeeue them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then those of Mexico. The season which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for sometime it is hotte, and sometime it raineth: but hitherto I neuer sawe it raine, but once there fell a little showre with winde, as they are woont to fall in Spaine.

The snow and cold are woont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely so to bee, both in respect to the maner of the Countrey, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furies and other things which this people haue to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no side mountainous: albeit there are some hillie and bad passages. There are small store of Foules: the cause whereof is the colde, and because the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great store of wood, because they haue wood for their fuell sufficient foure leagues off from a wood of small Cedars. There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence, for our horses as well to feede them in pasture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee stooode in great neede, because our horses came hither so weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey haue, is Maiz, whereof they haue great store, and also small white Pease: and Venison, which by all likelyhood they feede vpon, (though they

say no) for wee found many skinnes of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the best cakes that euer I sawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the finest order and way to grinde that wee euer sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They haue most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Western Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee neerest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Western Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse. Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I haue seene, and the pawes of Beares, and the skins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger than that beast which your lordship bestowed vpon me, which once belonged to Iohn Melaz. They trauell eight dayes iourney vnto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine skinnes well dressed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for so they say themselues.

CHAP. 4.

Of the state and qualities of the kingdomes of Totonteac, Marata, and Acus, quite contrary to the relation of Frier Marcus. The conference which they haue with the Indians of the citie of Granada which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres past foreseene the comming of the Christians into their countrey. The relation which they haue of other seuen cities, whereof Tucano is the principall, and how he sent to discouer them. A present of diuers things had in these countreys sent vnto the Viceroy Mendoza by Vasques de Coronado.

THE kingdom of Totonteac so much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are fve or *sixe houses*; and that there were certaine other, but that they *are ruinated by warre*. The kingdom of Marata is not to be *found*, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The

kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I say that this is a towne, For Acus with an aspiration nor without is no word of the countrey. And because I gesse that they would deriue Acucu of Acus, I say that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is conuerted. Beyond this towne they say there are other small townes which are neere to a riuer which I haue seene and haue had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordship: neuertheless I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am now to aduertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the seruice of his Maiestie and of your lordshippe, than I haue done in comming hither whither you haue sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our shoulders and vpon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart vnto the death, if it please his Maiestie and your lordship that it shall be so.

Three dayes after this citie was taken; certaine Indians of these people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueses, and badde mantles, and I receiued them in his Maiesties name with all the good speaches that I could deuise, certifying them of the purpose of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Maiestie, and by the commandement of your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this prouince should become Christians, and should knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receiue his Maiestie for their King and earthly Soueraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houses, and suddenly the next day they set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leauing their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I sawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recovered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I sayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there some fewe of them, to whom I sayde that they should not be afayd, and that they should call their gouernour vnto mee: Howbeit forasmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any gouernour: for I sawe not there any chiefe house, whereby any preeminence of one ouer another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which sayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a

mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reasoned that small while that hee stayed with mee, and hee sayd that within three dayes after, hee and the rest of the chiefe of that towne would come and visite mee, and giue order what course should bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and some Turqueses. I aduised them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wiues and children to their houses, and to become Christians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours maiestie for their King and lorde. And euen to this present they keepe in those strong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they haue. I commaunded them that they should paint mee out a cloth of all the beastes which they knowe in their countrey: And such badde painters as they are, forthwith they painted mee two clothes, one of their beastes, another of their birdes and fishes. They say that they will bring their children, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to knowe our lawe: And they assure vs, that aboue fiftie yeeres past it was prophesied among them, that a certaine people like vs should come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they should subdue all that countrey.

That which these Indians worship as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they say it causeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reason, but that their ancestors did so. I haue sought by all meanes possible to learne of the inhabitants of these townes, whether they haue any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of seuen cities which are farre distant from this place, which are like vnto these, though they haue not houses like vnto these, but they are of earth, and small: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of these townes whereof they haue knowledge, they say is called Tucano: and they gaue mee no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of necessitie I must speedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they shall soone finde themselves deceiued. I sent Don Pedro de Touar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horsemen to see this towne: And I would not haue dispatched this packet vnto your lordship, vntill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelue or fiteene dayes I might haue *had newes from him*: for hee will stay in this journey thirtie *dayes at least*. And hauing examined that the knowledge *hereof is of small importance*, and that the colde and the

waters approach: I thought it my duty to doe according as your lordship gaue mee charge in your instructions, which is, that immediately vpon mine arriual here, I should signifie so much vnto your lordship, and so I doe, sending withall the bare relation of that which I haue seene. I haue determined to send round about the countrey from hence to haue knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremitie, then to leaue this enterprise to serue his maiestie, if I may finde any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, vntill your lordship send mee order what I shall doe. Wee haue great want of pasture: and your lordship also shal vnderstand, that among all those which are here, there is not one pound of raisins, nor suger, nor oyle, nor any wine, saue only one pinte which is saued to say Masse: for all is spent & spilt by the way. Now your lordship may prouide vs what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to send vs cattell, your lordship must vnderstand that they will bee a sommer in coming vnto vs: for they will not be able to come vnto vs any sooner. I would haue sent your lordshippe with this dispatch many musters of things which are in this countrey: but the way is so long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe so; neuerthesse I send you twelue small mantles, such as the people of the countrey are woont to weare, and a certaine garment also, which seemeth vnto me to bee well made: I kept the same, because it seemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, because I beleeeue that no man euer sawe any needle worke in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same. I send your Lordshippe also two clothes painted with the beasts of this countrey, although as I haue sayde, the picture bee very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I haue seene other pictures on the walles of the houses of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I send your honour one Oxe-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earerings of the same, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses, and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians haue great store. I send your lordship also two rolles which the women in these parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee vse to doe in Spaine. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the same with her hande vp a lather. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes,

among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerours say, haue neuer beene seene. I can say nothing vnto your lordshippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them so carefully from vs, that hitherto I haue not seene any of them, sauing onely two olde women, and these had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requested the Indians to giue me one of these robes, which they ware, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not shewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which are these, which I send you as it were painted: they haue two pendants like the women of Spaine, which hang somewhat ouer their shoulders. The death of the Negro is most certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichiltcale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like vnto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and hee killed women; and also he touched their women, which the Indians loue more then themselues; therefore they determind to kill him: But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him: neither slewe they the young lad which was with him of the prouince of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in safe custodie vntill now. And when I sought to haue him, they excused themselues two or three dayes to giue him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion, when I tolde them that I should bee very angry if they did not giue him mee, they gave him vnto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well speake their language, yet he vnderstandeth the same very well. In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and siluer, which those which are skilfull in minerall matters esteeme to be very good. To this houre I could neuer learne of these people from whence they haue it: And I see they refuse to tell mee the trueth in all things, imagining, as I haue sayde, that in short time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselues. I beseech your lordship to certifie his Maiestie of the successe of this voyage. For seeing we haue no more then that which is aforesayd, and vntill such time as it please God that wee finde *that which wee desire*, I meane not to write my selfe. Our
Lorde God keepe and preserue your Excellencie.

From the Prouince of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of August 1540. Francis Vasques de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellencie.

In 1530, ten years after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, stories were told the Spaniards there of seven great Indian cities in the north, within the present limits of New Mexico and Arizona. The cities were said to be full of silver and gold; and Nuño de Guzman, with a force of 400 Spaniards and 20,000 Indians, set out from Mexico in search of this "Land of the Seven Cities," believed to be only 600 miles distant. The Seven Cities and the Island of the Amazons, of which he had also heard, kept receding as he marched, and finally he retraced his steps as far as Compostella and Guadalupe, where he established what was afterwards known as the province of New Galicia. He was presently deposed from the governorship of this province by Mendoza, the new viceroy, and was succeeded by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. To Coronado, in 1536, came the accounts of the arrival at Culiacan of De Vaca and his three companions, the sole survivors of Narvaez's expedition to Florida in 1527, after nine years' wanderings through the great regions north of the Gulf of Mexico, with their accounts of having fallen in with civilized peoples, living "in populous towns with very large houses." Coronado sent out Fray Marcos de Nizza, a monk who had been in Peru under Alvarado, on a preliminary investigation north, accompanied by one of De Vaca's companions, a negro named Stephen, and others. Fray Marcos' report upon his return is the first definite account which exists of the exploration and history of the region occupied by what we call the Pueblo Indians. It may be found in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii, 438 (edition of 1810). Fray Marcos came to many Indian villages, passed through rich valleys, and heard much about the province of Cibola and its seven great cities, and of other great kingdoms beyond, which were called Marata, Acus and Totontec. From a hill he looked down upon a city in a plain, which he said was larger than Mexico, and which his Indian companions said was the smallest of the Seven Cities. After great dangers and remarkable experiences he returned to Coronado, who went with him to Mexico to report to Mendoza. Mendoza forwarded Fray Marcos' written report to the Emperor Charles V, accompanied by an account of his own of the previous attempts at exploring the country (given in Ternaux-Compan, ix, 283, 290).

In February, 1540, Coronado himself, accompanied by Fray Marcos, set out for the Seven Cities of Cibola, with a force of 300 Spaniards and 800 Indians. But the expedition resulted in great disappointment. Instead of the great city which Marcos had reported, Cibola turned out a poor village with not more than 200 inhabitants, situated on a rocky eminence. From its resemblance in situation, Coronado gave the name of Granada to the village. He states that the name Cibola belonged to the whole district, not to any particular place. From this village, August 3, 1540, he sent to the viceroy the account of his explorations published in the present leaflet, expressing his disappointment and his disbelief in Fray Marcos' report of the rich and powerful kingdoms beyond. He pushed on, however, frequently deceived by extravagant stories, suffering great disappointments, and undergoing endless hardships, until the spring of 1542, when he returned to Mexico. Gen. Simpson speaks of his expedition as one which, "for extent in distance travelled, duration in time, and the multiplicity of its

coöperating expeditions, equalled, if it did not exceed, any land expedition that has been undertaken in modern times." Gen. Simpson maintains that Coronado reached a point as far north as what is now the boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska, well on toward the Missouri River. Bandelier is not satisfied that he went so far northeast, and thinks that he moved more in a circle.

Bandelier identifies some of the places mentioned in connection with the expedition with pueblos north of Santa Fé. The river found by one detachment, with its banks elevated "three or four leagues in the air," was undoubtedly the Colorado in its Grand Cañon. "In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1881," says Professor Henry W. Haynes, from whose chapter on "Early Explorations of New Mexico," in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, these facts are gathered, "I have given in detail the reasons for identifying Cibola with the region of the present Zuñi pueblos. Mr. Frank H. Cushing has made the important discovery that this tribe has preserved the tradition of the coming of Fray Marcos, and of the killing of the negro Stephen, whom they call 'the black Mexican,' at the ruined pueblo called Quaquima. They claim also to have a tradition of the visit of Coronado, and even of Cabeza de Vaca." Squier also identifies Cibola with Zuñi, as do Simpson, Prince and Davis. H. M. Breckenridge maintained that Cibola was the well-known ruin called Casa Grande. Lewis H. Morgan (see his article on *The Seven Cities of Cibola* in the *North American Review* for April, 1869, argued in favor of the identification of the site with the remarkable group of ruins in the valley of the Rio Chaca, about 100 miles northeast of Zuñi. Rev. E. E. Hale, in a paper on *Coronado's Discovery of the Seven Cities*, read before the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1881, argued, on the ground of certain new evidence, that the Moqui pueblos perhaps better satisfied the demands. Professor Haynes, in an answer to this at the following October meeting of the Society, discussed all the different opinions and upheld the Zuñi theory.

To Professor Haynes' essay, above mentioned, is appended a very full account of the literature of this whole subject, to which the student is referred. Coronado's report to Mendoza is printed in the present leaflet as given by Hakluyt in his *Voyages*, iii, 446 (ed. of 1810). His letter to Mendoza, March 8, 1539, transmitting report from Fray Marcos, and another brief letter to Mendoza, may be found in the same volume. A French translation of his letter to Emperor Charles V, giving an account of events from April 23 to October 20, 1541, is given in the *Voyages* of Ternaux-Compans, ix, 355. Of other narratives by companions of Coronado, see account given by Haynes.

Gallatin's essay on the *Ancient Semi-civilization of New Mexico*, in the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* (vol. iii, 1848), based on the reports of Col. Emory and Lieut. Abert, E. G. Squier's essay on the same subject in the *American Review* for November, 1848, Davis's *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, Simpson's *Coronado's March*, and Bandelier's *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico*, are the important modern works.



Old South Tractlets.

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Wheelock's Narrative

(1762)

OF THE ORIGINAL DESIGN, RISE, PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE OF
THE INDIAN CHARITY-SCHOOL IN LEBANON, CONN.

UNDERSTANDING there are numbers of religious and charitably disposed persons, who only wait to know where their charities may be bestowed in the best manner for the advancement of the kingdom of the great Redeemer; and, supposing there may also be in some, evil surmising about, and a disposition to discredit a cause which they don't love, and have no disposition to promote; I have, to gratify the one, and prevent the mischiefs of the other, thought it my duty to give the publick a short, plain, and faithful narrative of the original design, rise, progress, and present state of the Charity-School here, called *Moor's Indian-Charity School, &c.* And I hope there is need of little or nothing more than a plain and faithful relation of facts, with the grounds and reasons of them, to justify the undertaking, and all the pains and expence there has been, in the prosecution thereof. And to convince all persons of ability, that this school is a proper object of their charity; and that whatever they shall contribute for the furtherance of it, will be an offering acceptable to God, and properly bestowed for the promoting a design which the heart of the great Redeemer is infinitely set upon.

The considerations first moving me to enter upon the design of educating the children of our heathen natives were such as these; viz.

The great obligations lying upon us, as God's covenant-people, who have all we have better than they in a covenant way, and consequently are under covenant-bonds to improve it in the best manner for the honour and glory of our liberal Benefactor. And can such want of charity to those poor creatures, as our neglect has shewn; and, our neglect of that which God has so plainly made to be the matter of our care and duty; and that which the heart of the great Redeemer is so set upon, as that he never desired any

other compensation for all the travail of his soul, can it, I say, be without great guilt on our part?

It has seem'd to me, he must be stupidly indifferent to the Redeemer's cause and interest in the world; and criminally deaf and blind to the intimations of the favour and displeasure of God in the dispensations of his providence, who could not perceive plain intimations of God's displeasure against us for this neglect, inscribed in capitals, on the very front of divine dispensations, from year to year, in permitting the savages to be such a sore scourge to our land, and make such depredations on our frontiers, inhumanly butchering and captivating our people: not only in a time of war, but when we had good reason to think (if ever we had) that we dwelt safely by them.

And there is good reason to think, that if one half which has been, for so many years past expended in building forts, manning and supporting them, had been prudently laid out in supporting faithful missionaries, and school-masters among them, the instructed and civilized party would have been a far better defence than all our expensive fortresses, and prevented the laying waste so many towns and villages: Witness the consequence of sending Mr. *Sergeant* to *Stockbridge*, which was in the very road by which they most usually came upon our people, and by which there has never been one attack made upon us since his going there; and this notwithstanding there has been, by all accounts, less appearance of the saving effects of the gospel there than in any other place, where so much has been expended for many years past.

And not only our covenant bonds, by which we owe our all to God, and our divine Redeemer — our pity to their bodies in their miserable, needy state — our charity to their perishing souls — and our own peace, and safety by them, should constrain us to it; but also gratitude, duty, and loyalty to our rightful sovereign. How great the benefit which would hereby accrue to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and how much the interests of His Majesty's dominions, especially in *America*, would be promoted hereby, we can hardly conceive.

And the Christianizing the natives of this land is expressly mentioned in the royal charter granted to this colony, as a motive inducing His Majesty to grant that royal favour to our fathers. And since we are risen up in their stead, and enjoy the inestimable favour granted to them, on this consideration; What can excuse our not performing to our utmost, that which was engaged by, and reasonably expected from, them? But that which is of greatest *weight*, and should powerfully excite and persuade us hereto, are *the many commands, strong motives, precious promises, and tremendous threatenings*, which fill so great a part of the sacred pages;

and are so perfectly calculated to awaken all our powers, to spread the knowledge of the only true God, and Saviour, and make it as extensive and common as possible. It is a work, in which every one in his place, and according to his ability, is under sacred bonds to use his utmost endeavours. But for brevity sake, I omit a particular mention of them, supposing none have read their Bibles attentively, who do not know, that this is a darling subject of them; and that enough is there spoken by the mouth of God himself, to obviate and silence all the objections which sloth, covetousness, or love of the world can suggest against it. — [The religious obligation to the work is urged at some further length.]

These were some of the considerations which, I think, had some influence to my making an attempt in this affair; though I did not then much think of any thing more than only to clear myself, and family, of partaking in the public guilt of our land and nation in such a neglect of them.

And as there were few or none who seemed so much to lay the necessity and importance of the case to heart, as to exert themselves in earnest, and lead the way therein, I was naturally put upon consideration and enquiry what methods might have the greatest probability of success; and upon the whole was fully persuaded that this, which I have been pursuing, had by far the greatest probability of any that had been proposed, viz. by the mission of their own sons in conjunction with the *English*; and that a number of girls should also be instructed in whatever should be necessary to render them fit, to perform the female part, as house-wives, school-mistresses, tailoresses, &c. and to go and be with these youth, when they shall be hundreds of miles distant from the *English* on the business of their mission: And prevent a necessity of their turning savage in their manner of living, for want of those who may do those offices for them, and by this means support the reputation of their mission, and also recommend to the savages a more rational and decent manner of living, than that which they are in — and thereby, in time, remedy and remove that great, and hitherto insuperable difficulty, so constantly complained of by all our missionaries among them, as the great impediment in the way to the success of their mission, viz. their continual rambling about; which they can't avoid so long as they depend so much upon fishing, fowling, and hunting for their support. And I am more and more persuaded, that I have sufficient and unanswerable reasons to justify this plan.

As,

1. The deep rooted prejudices they have so generally imbibed against the *English*, that they are selfish, and have secret designs to incroach upon their lands, or otherwise wrong them in

their interests. This jealousy seems to have been occasioned, nourished, and confirmed by some of their neighbours, who have got large tracts of their lands for a very inconsiderable part of their true value, and, it is commonly said, by taking the advantage of them when they were intoxicated with liquor. And also, by unrighteous dealers, who have taken such advantage to buy their skins and furs at less than half price, &c. And perhaps these jealousies may be, not a little, increased by a consciousness of their own perfidy and inhumanity towards the *English*. And it seems there is no way to avoid the bad influence and effects of these prejudices, at present, unless it be by the mission of their own sons. And it is reasonable to suppose their jealousies are not less, since the late conquest in this land, by which they are put into our power, than they were before.

2. An *Indian* missionary may be supported with less than half the expence, that will be necessary to support an *Englishman*, who can't conform to their manner of living, and who will have no dependence upon them for any part of it. And an *Indian* who speaks their language, it may reasonably be supposed, will be at least four times as serviceable among them, supposing he be otherwise equally qualified as one who can communicate to or receive nothing from them, but by an interpreter: He may improve all opportunities not only in public, but, "when he sits in the house, walks by the way, when he lies down, and when he rises up:" And speak with as much life and spirit as the nature and importance of the matter require, which is very much lost when communicated by an interpreter.

3. Indian missionaries may be supposed better to understand the tempers and customs of *Indians*, and more readily to conform to them in a thousand things than the *English* can; and in things wherein the nonconformity of the *English* may cause disgust, and be construed as the fruit of pride, and an evidence and expression of their scorn and disrespect.

4. The influence of their own sons among them will likely be much greater than of any *Englishman* whatsoever. They will look upon such an one as one of them, his interest the same with theirs; and will naturally esteem him as an honour to their nation, and be more likely to submit patiently to his instructions and reproofs than to any *English* missionary. This is quite evident in the case of Mr. *Occom*, whose influence among the *Indians*, even of his own tribe, is much greater than any other man's; and when he shall settle *and live decently, and in fashion, among them, will likely do more to invite them to imitate his manner of living, than any Englishman.*

5. The acquaintance and friendship which *Indian* boys from different and distant tribes and places, will contract and cultivate,

while together at school, may, and if they are zealously affected will, be improved much for the advantage and furtherance of the design of their mission; while they send to, hear from, or visit one another, confirming the things which have been spoken. And this without so much ceremony to introduce one another, as will be necessary in the case of *English* missionaries; and without the cumber and expence of interpreters.

6. Indian missionaries will not disdain to own *English* ones, who shall be associates with them, (where the *English* can be introduced) as elder brethren; nor scorn to be advised or reproved, counselled or conducted by them; especially so long as they shall be so much dependent upon the *English* for their support; which will likely be till God has made them his people; and then, likely, they will not stand in such need of *English* guides and counsellors. And they will mutually help one another, to recommend the design to the favourable reception and good liking of the pagans, remove their prejudices, conciliate their friendship, and induce them to repose due confidence in the *English*.

7. In this school, children of different nations may, and easily will learn one another's language, and English youth may learn of them; and so save the vast expence and trouble of interpreters; and their ministry be much more acceptable and edifying to the *Indians*.

8. There is no such thing as sending *English* missionaries, or setting up and maintaining *English* schools to any good purpose, in most places among them, as their temper, state and condition have been and still are. It is possible a school may be maintained to some good purpose, at *Onoboguagee*, where there have been heretofore several faithful missionaries, by the blessing of God upon whose labours the *Indians* are in some measure civilized, some of them baptized, a number of them in a judgment of charity, real Christians; and where they have a sachem, who is a man of understanding, virtue, steadiness, and entirely friendly to the design of propagating the gospel among them, and zealous to promote it. And where the Hon. *Scotch* Commissioners, I hear, have sent two missionaries, and have made some attempt to set up a school. But at *Jeningo*, a little beyond, they will by no means admit an *English* missionary to reside among them. And tho' they were many of them under great awakenings and concern, by God's blessing on the labours of a Christian *Indian* from these parts; yet such was the violent opposition of numbers among them, that it was thought by no means safe for an *Englishman* to go among them, with design to tarry with them. And like to this is the case with the parties of *Indians*, for near an hundred miles together, on the west side of *Susquehanah* River. Another school or two may possibly be set up

with success among the *Mohawks*, where Mr. *Ogilvie* and other Episcopal missionaries have bestowed much labour, to good purpose; and where they have got into the way of cultivating their lands for a living, and so have more ability to support their children, and less occasion to ramble abroad with them. But even in these places we may find it more difficult than we imagine before the trial be made (though I would by no means discourage the trial of every feasible method for the accomplishing this great design) but by acquaintance with the schools which the Hon. *London* Commissioners have with pious zeal, set up and maintained among the several tribes in these parts, I am much confirmed in such sentiments. These parties live amongst, and are encompassed by the *English*, have long had good preaching, and numbers of them appear to be truly godly. Yet such is the savage temper of many, their want of due esteem for learning, and gratitude to their benefactors, and especially their want of government, that their school-masters, tho' skilful and faithful men, constantly complain they can't keep the children in any measure constant at school. Mr. *Clelland* the school-master at *Mohegan* has often told me what unwearied pains he has taken by visiting, and discoursing with their parents, &c. to remedy this evil, and after all can't accomplish it. The children are suffered to neglect their attendance on instruction, and waste much time, by which means they don't learn so much in several years as they might, and others do in one, who are taken out of the reach of their parents, and out of the way of *Indian* examples, and are kept to school under good government and constant instruction. I the rather mention this instance, because of the well-known fidelity and skill of that good gentleman, and because that tribe are as much civilized, and as many of them Christianized, as perhaps any party of them in this government. And by all I can learn, it is no better in this respect with any other. They are so disaffected towards a good and necessary government, that as gentle an exercise of it as may be, and answer the design of keeping up order and regularity in any measure among them, will likely to disgust them as to render the case worse rather than better. Captain *Martin Kellog* complain'd of this as his great discouragement in the school at *Stockbridge*, notwithstanding he understood as well as any man the disposition of *Indians*, and had the advantage of knowing their language and customs, having been so long a captive among them, and was high in their affection and esteem; yet he was obliged to take the children home to *Weathersfield* with him, quite away from their parents, before he could exercise that government which was necessary in order to their profiting at school. But as to most places, there is no such thing at present as introducing either *English* school-

masters or missionaries to continue with them; such are their prejudices in general, and such the malevolent, and ungovernable temper of some, that none but an *Indian* would dare venture his life among them.

And besides all this, they are so extremely poor, and depend so much upon hunting for a livelihood, that they are in no capacity to support their children at school, if their disposition for it were ever so good.

Mr. *Occom* informed me by a letter from the *Oncida* country last summer, and the same account I had also from the young man which I sent there, that the *Indians* were almost starved, having nothing to live upon but what they got by fishing, fowling and hunting, that he had no other way to come at them, to preach to them, but by following them from place to place in their hunting. And though the condition of all may not be quite so indigent as of these, nor the condition of these at all times quite so bad as it was then, yet it is well known that they universally depend upon roving and hunting mainly for their support; and whoever has heard the constant complaint of missionaries, and the matter of their discouragement, or has only read what the Reverend Messrs. *Sergeant* and *D. Brainerd* have wrote upon this head, can't charge me with writing without sufficient evidence, and good authority, if I had no other but theirs.

And what are a few instances, where schools may possibly be maintained to some good purpose, compared with those tribes and nations of them, where there are no circumstances at present, but their misery and necessity, to invite us so much as to make the trial.

By the blessing of God on his late Majesty's arms, there is now, no doubt, a door opened for a hundred missionaries; and (unless we can find such as can speak to them in their own language) for as many interpreters; and perhaps for ten times that number, provided we could find such as are suitable for the business, and such as may be introduced in a way agreeable to the savages, and so as to avoid the bad effects of their prejudices against the *English*. But,

9. There are very few or no interpreters, who are suitable and well-accomplished for the business, to be had. Mr. *Occom* found great difficulty last year in his mission on this account. And not only the cause, but his own reputation suffered much by the unfaithfulness of the man he employed.

I suppose the interpreters now employed by the Hon. Commissioners are the best that are to be had at present. But how many nations are there for whom there is no interpreter at all, except, it may be, some ignorant and perhaps vicious person, who has been their captive, and whom it is utterly unsafe to trust;

matters of such eternal consequence. And how shall this difficulty be remedied? It seems it must be by one of these two ways, viz. either their children must come to us, or ours go to them. But who will venture their children with them, unless with some of the civilized parties, who have given the strongest testimonies of their friendship? If it be said, that all the natives are now at peace with us: It may be, their chiefs, and the better-temper'd part of them are so. But who does not know that their leagues and covenants with us are little worth, and like to be so till they become Christians? And that the tender mercies of many of them are cruelty? Who is so unacquainted with the history of them, as not to know, there is reason to think, there are many among their lawless herds, who would gladly embrace an opportunity to commit a secret murder on such *English* youth?—Even Mr. *Oocom*, though an *Indian*, did not think it safe for him, being of another tribe and language, and in such connections with the *English*, to go among the numerous tribe of the *Seneca's*, where he had no avenger of his blood for them to fear.

When, and as soon as the method proposed by the Rev'd Mess. *Sergeant* and *Brainerd*, can be put into execution, viz. to have lands appropriated to the use of *Indian* schools, and prudent skilful farmers, or tradesmen, to lead and instruct the boys, and mistresses to instruct the girls in such manufactures as are proper for them, at certain hours, as a diversion from their school exercises, and the children taken quite away from their parents, and the pernicious influence of *Indian* examples, there may be some good prospect of great advantage by schools among them.

And must it be esteemed a wild imagination, if it be supposed that well-instructed, sober, religious *Indians*, may with special advantage be employed as masters and mistresses in such schools; and that the design will be much recommended to the *Indians* thereby; and that there may be special advantage by such, serving as occasional interpreters for visitors from different nations from time to time; and they hereby receive the fullest conviction of the sincerity of our intentions, and be confirmed and established in friendly sentiments of us, and encouraged to send their children, &c.?

I am fully persuaded from the acquaintance I have had with them, it will be found, whenever the trial shall be made, to be very difficult if not impossible, unless the arm of the Lord should be revealed in an eminent manner, to cure them of such savage and fordid practices, as they have been inured to from their mother's womb, and form their minds and manners to proper rules of *virtue, decency and humanity*, while they are daily under the *pernicious influence* of their parents example, and their many vices *made familiar thereby*.

10. I have found by experience, there may be a thorough and effectual exercise of government in such a school, and as severe as shall be necessary, without opposition from, or offence taken by, any. And who does not know, that evils so obstinate as those we may reasonably expect to find common in the children of savages, will require that which is severe? Sure I am, they must find such as have better natures, or something more effectually done to subdue their vicious inclinations, than most I have been concerned with, if it be not so. And moreover, in such a school, there will be the best opportunity to know who has such a genius and disposition, as most invite to bestow extraordinary expence to fit them for special usefulness.

11. We have the greatest security we can have, that when they are educated and fitted for it, they will be employed in that business. There is no likelihood at all that they will, though ever so well qualified, get into business, either as school-masters or ministers, among the *English*; at least till the credit of their nations be raised many degrees above what it now is, and consequently they can't be employed as will be honorable for them, or in any business they will be fit for, but among their own nation. And it may reasonably be supposed, their compassion towards their "brethren according to the flesh" will most naturally incline them to, and determine them upon such an employment as they were fitted and designed for. And besides all this, abundant experience has taught us, that such a change of diet, and manner of living as missionaries must generally come into, will not consist with the health of many *Englishmen*. And they will be obliged on that account to leave the service, though otherwise well disposed to it. Nor can this difficulty be avoided at present (certainly not without great expence.) But there is no great danger or difficulty in this respect as to *Indians*, who will only return to what they were used to from their mother's womb.

And there may also be admitted into this school, promising *English* youth of pregnant parts, and who from the best principles, and by the best motives, are inclined to devote themselves to that service; and who will naturally care for their state.

Divine skill in things spiritual, pure and fervent zeal for the salvation of souls, shining examples of piety and godliness, by which pagans will form their first notions of religion, rather than from any thing that shall be said to them, are most necessary qualifications in a missionary; and promise more real good than is to be expected from many times the number who have never "known the terrors of the Lord," and have no experimental, and therefore no right understanding of the nature of conversion and the way wherein it is wrought. Such were never under the governing influ

ence of a real sense of the truth, reality, greatness and importance of eternal things, and therefore will not be likely to treat them suitable to the nature and eternal consequences of them, surely they will not naturally do it. And how sad are like to be the consequences to those who are watching to see whether the preacher himself does really believe the things which he speaks.

In such a school their studies may be directed with a special view to the design of their mission. Several parts of learning, which have no great subserviency to it, and which will consume much time, may be less pursued, and others most necessary made their chief study. And they may not only learn the pagan languages, but will naturally get an understanding of their tempers, and many of their customs, which must needs be useful to missionaries. And instead of a delicate manner of living, they may by degrees, as their health will bear, enure themselves to such a way of living as will be most convenient for them to come into when on their mission.

And if the one half of the *Indian* boys thus educated shall prove good and useful men, there will be no reason to regret our toil and expence for the whole. And if God shall deny his blessing on our endeavours, as to the general design, it may be these particular youth may reap eternal advantage by what we do for them; and if but one in ten does so, we shall have no cause to think much of the expence. And if a blessing be denied to all, "we shall notwithstanding be unto God a sweet favour of Christ in them that perish."

After the trial I made of this nature some years ago, by the assistance of the Honourable London Commissioners, in the education of Mr. *Samson Oocom*, one of the *Mohegan* tribe, who has several years since been a useful school-master and successful preacher of the gospel to the *Indians* at *Montauk* on *Long-Island*, where he took the place of the Rev. Mr. *Horton*, missionary; and was, under God, instrumental to cure them in a good measure, of the wildness they had been led into by some exhorters from *New-England*, and in a judgment of charity was the instrument of saving good to a number of them. He was several years ago ordained to the sacred ministry by the Reverend Presbytery of *Suffolk* County on said Island; and has done well, so far as I have heard, as a missionary to the *Oneida* nation, for two years past. May God mercifully preserve him, amidst loud applauses, from falling into the snare and condemnation of the devil! — I say, after seeing the success of this attempt, I was more encouraged to hope that such a method might be very successful.

With these views of the case, and from such motives as have been mentioned, above eight years ago I wrote to the Reverend

John Brainerd, missionary in *New-Jersey*, desiring him to send me two likely boys for this purpose, of the *Deleware* tribe: He accordingly sent me *John Pumshire* in the 14th, and *Jacob Woolley* in the 11th years of their age; they arrived here *December 18th. 1754.* and behaved as well as could be reasonably expected; *Pumshire* made uncommon proficiency in writing. They continued with me till they had made considerable progress in the Latin and Greek tongues; when *Pumshire* began to decline, and by the advice of physicians, I sent him back to his friends, with orders, if his health would allow it, to return with two more of that nation, whom Mr. *Brainerd* had at my desire provided for me. *Pumshire* set out on his journey, *November 14th. 1756.* and got home, but soon died. And on *April 9th. 1757,* *Joseph Woolley* and *Hezekiah Calvin* came on the horse which *Pumshire* rode.

The decline and death of this youth was an instructive scene to me, and convinced me more fully of the necessity of special care respecting their diet; and that more exercise was necessary for them, especially at their first coming to a full table, and with so keen an appetite, than was ordinarily necessary for *English* youth. And with the exercise of such care, as one who understands the case, and is willing to take the trouble of it, may use, I am persuaded there is no more danger of their studies being fatal to them, than to our own children. There have been several long fits of sickness of one and another in this school, with a nervous fever, pleurisy, dysenteries, &c. but perhaps not more than have been among so large a number of common labouring people in so long a time.

Sometime after those boys came, the affair appearing with an agreeable aspect, it being then a time of profound peace in this country, I represented the affair to Colonel *Elisha Williams*, Esq; late rector of *Yale-College*, and to the Rev'd Messrs *Samuel Moseley* of *Windham*, and *Benjamin Pomeroy* of *Hebron*, and invited them to join me; they readily accepted the invitation; and a gentleman learned in the law supposed there might be such an incorporation among ourselves as might fully answer our purpose. And Mr. *Joshua Moor*, late of *Mansfield*, deceased, appeared to give a final tenement in this place, for the foundation, use and support of a Charity-School, for the education of *Indian* youth, &c. But it pleased God to take the good Colonel from an unthankful world soon after the covenant was made and executed, and thus deprived us of the benefit of his singular learning, piety and zeal in the affair. Notwithstanding, a subscription was soon made of near £.500 lawful money, towards a fund for the support of it at 6 per cent. But several gentlemen of the law, doubting of the validity and sufficiency of such an incorporation; several steps were taken

to obtain the royal favour of a charter, but none effectual. The war soon commenced, and the reports from day to day of the ravages made, and inhumanities and butcheries committed by the savages on all quarters, raised in the breasts of great numbers, a temper so warm, and so contrary to charity, that I seldom thought it prudent so much as to mention the affair. Many advised me to drop it, but it appeared to others so probable to be the very method which God would own, that I thought better to scrabble along with it, as well as I could, till divine Providence should change the scene.

The prospects, notwithstanding our outward troubles, seemed to be increasing: Such was the orderly and good behaviour of the boys, through the blessing of God on instruction and discipline, that enemies could find but little or nothing that was true where-with they might reproach the design; and those whose sentiments were friendly, observed with pleasure the good effects of our endeavours: And the liberalities, especially of gentlemen of character, encouraged me more and more to believe it to be of God, and that he designed to succeed and prosper it, to the glory of his own great name; and that I ought in compliance with such intimations of Providence from time to time, proportionably to increase the number.

I have had two upon my hands since *December 18th. 1754*, and four since *April, 1757*, and five since *April 1759*, and seven since *November, 1760*, and eleven since *August 1st. 1761*, and after this manner they have increased as I could obtain those who appeared promising. And for some time I have had twenty-five devoted to school as constantly as their health will allow, and they have all along been so, excepting that in an extraordinary croud of business, I have sometimes required their assistance. But there is no great advantage, excepting to themselves, to be expected from their labour, nor enough to compensate the trouble of instructing them in it, and the repair of the mischiefs they will do, while they are ignorant of all the affairs of husbandry, and the use of tools. The principal advantage I have ever had in this respect has been by *David Fowler* and *Joseph Woolley*, and more by *David* than all the rest: These lads will likely make good farmers, if they should ever have the advantage of experience in it.

Three of this number are *English* youth, one of which is gone for a time to *New-Jersey* College, for the sake of better advantage for some parts of learning: He has made some proficiency in the *Mohawk* tongue: The other two are fitting for the business of *missionaries*. One of the *Indian* lads is *Jacob Woolley*, who is now in his last year at *New-Jersey* College, and is a good scholar; he is here by the leave and order of the President, designing to get some

acquaintance with the *Mohawk* tongue. Two others are sent here by the Rev. Mr. *Brainerd*, and are designed for trades; the one for a blacksmith (a trade much wanted among the *Indians*) and is to go to his apprenticeship as soon as a good place is ready for him; the other is designed for a carpenter and joiner, and is to go to an apprenticeship as soon as he has learned to read and write. Another of the *Indians* is son to the sachem at *Mohegan*, and is heir-apparent; he is somewhat infirm as to his bodily health: For his support last year I have charged nothing more than 10l. lawful money, granted by the Hon. *London* Commissioners. Several of my scholars are considerably well accomplished for school-masters, and 7 or 8 will likely be well fitted for interpreters in a few years more. And four of this number are girls, whom I have hired women in this neighbourhood to instruct in all the arts of good housewifery, they attending the school one day in a week to be instructed in writing, &c. till they shall be fit for an apprenticeship, to be taught to make men's and women's apparel, &c. in order to accompany these boys, when they shall have occasion for such assistance in the business of their mission.* And six of them are *Mohawks*, obtained pursuant and according to the direction of the Honorable General Assembly of the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, and are learning to speak, write, and read *English*: And the most of them make good proficiency therein.

I have, by the good Providence of God, been favoured with religious, faithful and learned masters, in general, from the first setting up of this school, at the expence of about £.56 lawful money per annum, i. e. £.3 per month, with their board, and all accommo-

* This part of my plan seems to be abundantly justified by that which the Rev. Dr. *Colman* of *Boston*, and the Rev. Mr. *Sergeant* of *Stockbridge*, have wrote upon this head. See Mr. *Sergeant's* letter to the Doctor, printed at *Boston* 1743, Page 15. The Doctor writes thus: — "Another thing suggested by Mr. *Sergeant* and a most wise and necessary one in the present case is — his taking in girls as well as boys, if Providence succeed the design, and a fund sufficient to carry it on can be procured: — I must needs add on this head, that this proposal is a matter of absolute necessity, wherein we are not left at liberty, either as men or Christians; for there cannot be a propagation of religion among any people, without an equal regard to both sexes; not only because females are alike precious souls, form'd for God and religion as much as the males; but also because the care for the souls of children in families, and more especially in those of low degree, lies chiefly upon the mothers for the first 7 or 8 years: Which is an observation or remark which I had the honour to make unto my dear and honoured ancient friend, *Henry Newman*, Esq; Secretary to the Hon. and Rev. Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; which when he had communicated to them they put into print, and sent it to the Directors of the 1764 schools; (if I have not miscounted) that so a greater proportion of girls might be taken into them to receive a religious education for the sake of their posterity, and therein for the more effectual answering the very end of their charity schools." —

dations, and a horse kept or provided when needed; which I suppose can't be esteemed less than the sum which I mention: and if this seems to any to be large, I have only this to say, that I could not have the choice of masters at less expence. But the expence for tuition will likely be saved for some time, by the generosity of a young gentleman, who proposes to keep it *gratis* a few months.

The method of conducting this school has been, and is designed to be after this manner, viz. they are obliged to be clean, and decently dressed, and be ready to attend prayers, before sunrise in the fall and winter, and at 6 o'clock in the summer. A portion of Scripture is read by several of the seniors of them: And those who are able answer a question in the *Assembly's Catechism*, and have some questions asked them upon it, and an answer expounded to them. After prayers, and a short time for their diversion, the school begins with prayer about 9, and ends at 12, and again at 2, and ends at 5 o'clock with prayer. Evening prayer is attended before the day-light is gone. Afterwards they apply to their studies, &c. They attend the publick worship, and have a pew devoted to their use, in the house of God. On Lord's-Day morning, between and after the meetings, the master, or some one whom they will submit to, is with them, inspects their behaviour, hears them read, catechises them, discourses to them, &c. And once or twice a week they hear a discourse calculated to their capacities upon the most important and interesting subjects. And in general they are orderly and governable: They appear to be as perfectly easy and contented with their situation and employment as any at a father's house. I scarcely hear a word of their going home, so much as for a visit, for years together, except it be when they first come.

And the success of endeavours hitherto, the general approbation of great and good men, and the testimonies many have given of it, by their seasonable liberality towards it's support, have seemed to me such evident tokens of a Divine Hand in favour of it, and so plain intimations of the Divine Will concerning it, that I have, as I said before, thought it duty, notwithstanding all discouragements, to pursue the design, and endeavour to keep pace with the providences of God in favour of it as to their number, and trust in Him, "whose the earth is, and the fulness thereof," for further supplies. And I have hoped this would be esteemed sufficient to clear me of the imputation of presumption and rashness in risking my own private interest, as I have done.

The Honourable London Commissioners hearing of the design, *enquired into it, and encouraged it by an allowance of 12l. lawful money, by their vote November 12. 1756.* And again in the year 1758 they allowed me 20l. — and in November 4th, 1760, granted

me an annual allowance of 20l. for my assistance — and in *October* 8th, 1761, they granted me 12l. towards the support of *Isaiah Uncas*, son of the sachem of *Mohegan*, and 10l. more for his support the following year. In *October* 1756, I received a legacy of fifty-nine dollars of Mrs. *Ann Bingham* of *Windham*. In *July* 1761, I received a generous donation of fifty pounds sterling from the Right Hon. William, Marquis of *Lothian*. And in *Nov.* 1761, a donation of 25l. sterl. from Mr. *Hardy* of *London* — and in *May* 1762, a second donation of 50l. sterl. from that most honorable and noble lord, the Marquis of *Lothian*; and at the same time 20l. sterl. from Mr. *Samuel Savage*, merchant in *London*: and a collection of ten guineas from the Rev. Dr. *A. Giffords* in *London*: and 10l. sterl. more from a lady in *London*, unknown, which is still in the hands of a friend, and to be remitted with some additional advantage, and to be accounted for when received. And also for 7 years past I have, one year with another, received about 11l. lawful money annually, interest of subscriptions. And in my journey to *Portsmouth* last *June*, I received in private donations 66l. 17s. 7d. 1-4th. lawful money. I also received for the use of this school, a bell of about 80 lb. weight, from a gentleman in *London*. In *November* 1761, the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Province of *Massachusetts-Bay*, voted, that I should be allowed to take under my care six children of the *Six Nations*, for education, clothing and boarding, and be allowed for that purpose, for each of said children, 12l. per annum for one year, which boys I have obtained, and they have been for some time in this school.

The Honourable Scotch Commissioners in and near *Boston*, understanding and approving of the design of sending for *Indian* children of remote tribes, to be educated here, were the first body, or society, who have led the way in making an attempt for that purpose. Which because of the newness and remarkable success of it, and because it may encourage such a design in time to come, I suppose it may not be disagreeable, if I am a little particular in my account of it: While I was in *Boston* they passed a vote to this purpose, *May* 7, 1761, "That the Reverend Mr. *Wheelock* of *Lebanon* be desired to fit out *David Fowler*, an *Indian* youth, to accompany Mr. *Samson Ocom*, going on a mission to the *Oneidas*, that said *David* be supported on said mission for a term not exceeding 4 months; and that he endeavour on his return to bring with him a number of *Indian* boys, not exceeding three, to be put under Mr. *Wheelock's* care and instruction, and that 20l. be put into Mr. *Wheelock's* hands to carry this design into execution; and that when said sum shall be expended, he advise the treasurer of it, and send his accounts for allowance."

Pursuant to this vote I clothed and furnished said *David* with horse and money, for his long tour into the wilderness, which he set out on *June* 10th, in company with Mr. *Occom*, by the way of *New-York*; in which journey he rode above a thousand miles, and by the advice, direction and assistance of Sir William Johnson, obtained three boys of the *Mohawk* nation, who were willing to leave their friends and country and come among strangers of another language, and quite another manner of living, and where, perhaps, no one of their nation then living had ever been; and among a people of whom their nation have been of a long time inclined to entertain jealousies. Their names were *Joseph*, *Negyes*, and *Center*. They arrived here *August* 1st, 1761, but had so much caution in the extraordinary enterprize, that they brought each of them an horse from their own country. Two of them were but little better than naked, and could not speak a word of *English*. The other being of a family of distinction among them, was considerably clothed, *Indian*-fashion, and could speak a few words of *English*. They let me know, as soon as I could understand them, that Sir Wm. Johnson had told them they should return and visit their friends in the fall of the year. I took speedy care to *cleanse* and cloath them. They many ways discovered some jealousies respecting the design of their coming; but by acquaintance and freedom with other *Indians* in the school, and by constant care for them and kindness to them, those jealousies seemed in a little time to wear away, and they appeared to feel and enjoy themselves as though they had been at home in a father's house. Daily care was exercised for them, and particular caution that they might in no instance appear to be, thro' disrespect, distinguished from any in the school. Such distinction, or any thing which they apprehend to be so, I find will at once occasion jealousies and disaffection. And this seems to be agreeable to a settled principle among themselves, (according to which they are wont to treat their captives) viz. that those who take the patronage of children, not their own, shall treat them in all respects as their own.

Center's countenance, as I thought when he came, discovered that he was not in health. My suspicions increased, and the issue proved they were not groundless. He continued with me till the fall, when the physician I employed advised me, that his disorders threatened his life, and prevailed to such a degree that he looked upon him to be incurable, and that he judged it best to send him back to his friends, and that soon, or it would be too late to send him at all; and according to this advice I sent him away with *Negyes*, having furnished them with money for their journey into the *Mohawk* country, on the 23d day of *October*. *Joseph* tarried longer to accompany young *Kirtland*, who was learning the

Mohawk language of him, and whom I sent into that country to obtain six boys of those nations, to partake of the benefit of Sir Peter Warren's legacy, according to the instructions of the General Assembly of the Province of *Massachusetts-Bay*, before mentioned.

Center reached home, but died soon after. *Negyes*, I hear, was captivated by a young female and married. Mr. *Kirtland* and *Joseph* set out for the *Mohawk* country November 4th, and returned November 27th, and brought two *Mohawk* lads with them, viz. *Moses* and *Johannes*, by whom Sir Wm. Johnson informed me that he expected to be able to send the rest when they came in from hunting. I informed the Hon. Commissioners of the state of the case, and by a letter from the Reverend Dr. Chauncy, chairman of their committee, in the name of the rest, was desired to let them have in their pay and under their direction these two who came last with *Joseph*, which I consented to, provided they would remit the necessary charges which I had been at in procuring and cloathing them, and give me as I afterwards charged them for their support and tuition, upon which conditions they took them. I immediately sent to Sir Wm. Johnson for other six to partake of Sir Peter Warren's legacy. These three, viz. *Joseph*, *Moses* and *Johannes*, continued with me in the pay of the Commissioners till May 27, 1762, when I offered said committee my accompt, the whole amount of which, that is, for cloathing and furnishing *David* with horse and money for his support in his long journey of several months, the expence of the boy's journey home above 200 miles. The expence of *Kirtland's* journey (excepting his horse) into that country to bring down *Moses* and *Johannes*. The pasturing the horses of the first three the time they continued here, in a dry and difficult season; the cloathing all five, and repairing their cloathing the whole time they tarried; the boarding and schooling them, finding washing, lodging, firewood, candles, books, paper, &c. I say, the amount of the expence for the five and in the whole affair for near twelve months, errors excepted, was but just 58l. 17s. 7d. 1-4th. sterling. But in this accompt I charged nothing for several expensive journeys in this government, taken by myself, and another preparatory and necessary to the design of *David's* mission, nor for any labour, care or pains of my own therein from first to last—For their board, washing and lodging but 5s. per week; the lowest common price in these parts was 6s. L. M. What cloathing, &c. they had of me, I charged at the lowest cash-price, and what I got for them of our traders, shoemakers, taylor, &c. I charged just as they charged me, without any advance in one instance. I charged nothing for extraordinary trouble and care for *Center*, in his declining state; nor did the physician charge what he did for him. And there were other provisions made

prevent expence of money in their journeyings more than is common, for which there was nothing charged, by all which the account was somewhat less than it would otherwise have been — But then on the other hand it may be considered,

1. That provisions of all sorts were then, and still are, at an higher price than ever before in these parts, occasioned by the preceeding wars and extreme drought. When they are reduced to their usual price, the expence of educating *Indian* youth will be much less.

2. The circumstances of this undertaking were extraordinary, and the necessary expences of it were consequently so, and such as there may never be such occasion for again. This was the opening a door which never had been opened for such a purpose to these nations; and it was thought by many who knew their great fondness for their children, that it could not be soon accomplished, i. e. to make either parents or children willing to comply with an invitation to come such a vast length, and under such circumstances as have been mentioned. But the report of *David* confirmed by the boys on their return, has given such conviction of the sincerity and kindness of our intentions towards them, as has removed all objections. And nothing more is now necessary to our obtaining as many well-chosen boys and girls as we please, but to employ some faithful missionary among them for that purpose.

I have been the more particular in this account, because I would remove the unreasonable prejudices raised against this method, by partial and unfair accounts, and a cry of enormous expences, &c. And to let the world know there is nothing in it worthy to be objected by one who is in earnest to accomplish this great and important design.

What I have done for this school since its beginning, in many expensive journies; (for none of which have I ever charged any thing at all); in constant care for their health, in endeavours to cure their savage disposition, and form their minds and manners to right rules of virtue and religion, in extraordinary care and trouble for several of them in sickness, in expences by company, not only of *English* but *Indians* at my house, occasioned thereby; and incidental charges in many instances, none are able justly to estimate, or likely so much as to think of many of them, but one who is intimately acquainted with the business: In consideration for which I have had the assistance of several of them a few times in an extraordinary croud of business; and of late some advantage by the school to two of my own children. Which reward I suppose *impartial judges* will not think to bear a very considerable proportion to these expences which are not charged, and which in *my judgment* is not the one tenth part of them.

Mr. Moor's grant contains about two acres of pasturing, a small house and shop; for the use of which from the first I have received about £. 4 lawful money, clear of the charge of repairing, which is not equal to the money I have paid to physicians which is not charged.

I have professed to have no view to making an estate by this affair: what the singleness and uprightness of my heart has been before God, he knows; and also how greatly I stand in need of his pardon.

My account with the school has been charged after the following manner, viz. For the whole expence of cloathing, boarding and tutoring the boys from *December* 18th. 1754, to *November* 26th. 1760. at the rate of £. 16 lawful money per annum, for each; but when their number was so increased I found it necessary to come nearer to the true value of it, and have since used greater exactness; but have never charged higher than at the lowest money price for what they have had of me, and for what I have bought for them of our traders, shoemakers, tailors, &c. I have charged just what I have given, and no more. I have charged for their tuition, as for *English* scholars, i. e. for Latin scholars, and such as were savage and needed much care and instruction, at 2 s. L. M. per week, or £. 4 10s. per annum; and for others proportionably. The whole school, one year with another, has not quite cleared my expence for the master. Last year it did a little more; and since the 27th of *May* last, it has over-done my expence for the master 15 s. 8d. besides the tuition of the girls. I have charged for the girls but 4d. per week, i. e. for one day's schooling and dinner; and the whole expence for their education will be but little more than their cloathing.

The total amount of all my disbursements in this whole affair, for near eight years, that is, since *December* 18. 1754, to *November* 27. 1762, charged in the manner, and after the rate before-mentioned, is, (errors excepted) £. 566 2s. 5d. sterling. — And the total amount of all the donations before-mentioned, together with smaller ones, which I suppose needless to mention particularly, received within the said term, is, (errors excepted) £. 509 2s. 5d. sterling.

And as this school was set up when there was no scheme devised, or plan laid, which this could be in opposition to; so it is not continued in opposition to any other measures which are proposed or pursued by others.

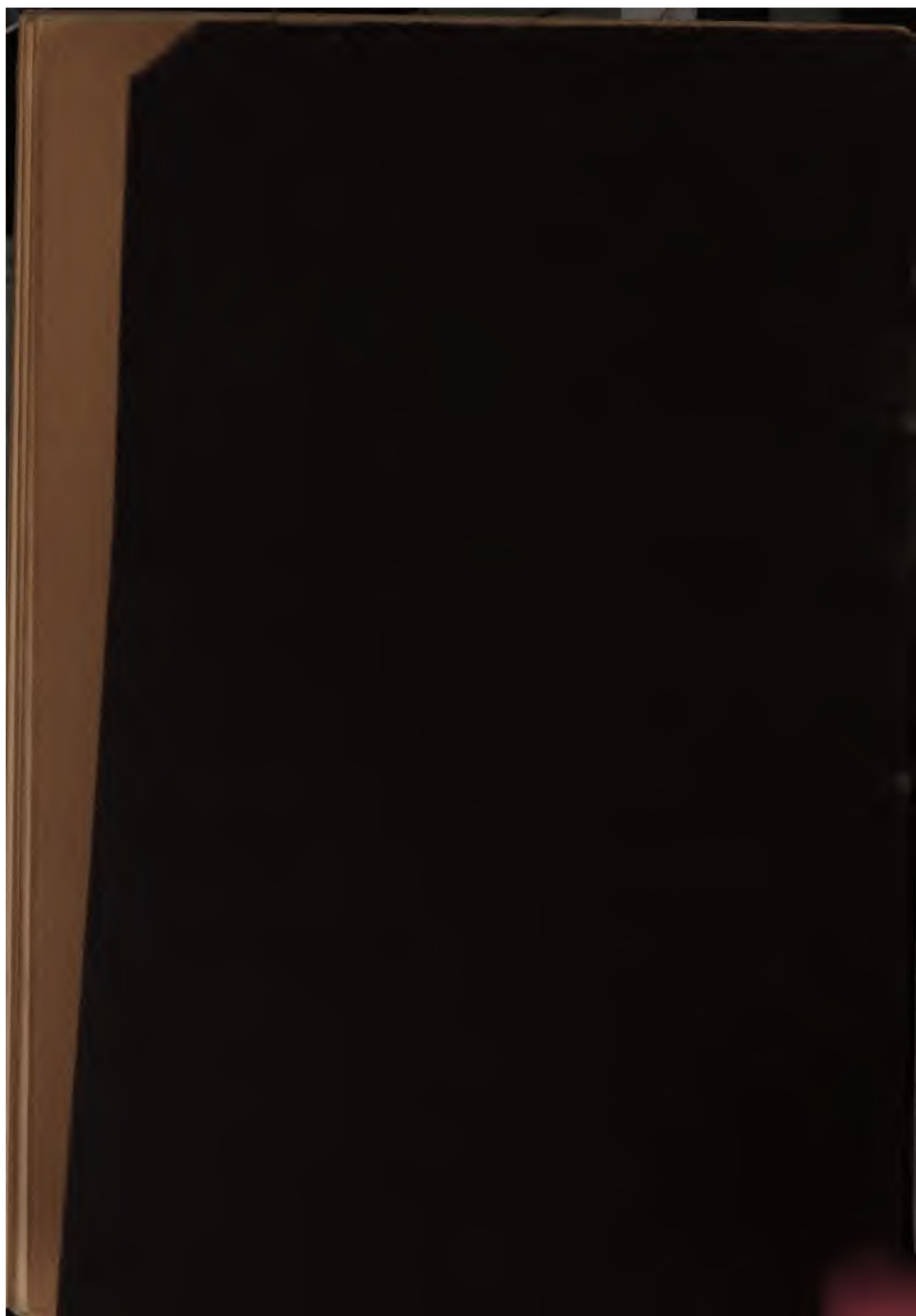
And, blessed be God that he has put it into the hearts of a number of gentlemen of ability in and near Boston, to contribute so liberally towards the furtherance of the general design. And is it not a pity that Christians of all denominations should not unite their utmost endeavours for the accomplishment of it; and of

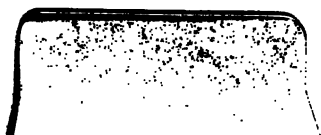
cially now while the door is so widely opened for it? And what a pity is it that any time should be lost? And how exceeding mean, and infinitely beneath those noble sentiments, and that generous love to the souls of men, and to our king and country, which true religion inspires, will it be to fall into parties; and on account of differing opinions respecting the most probable methods for accomplishing the end, to obstruct and hinder one another therein? There is enough for all to do; and the affair is of so great importance, that it calls for the trial of every method that has the least probability of success; and different methods may greatly subserve and assist one another. . . .

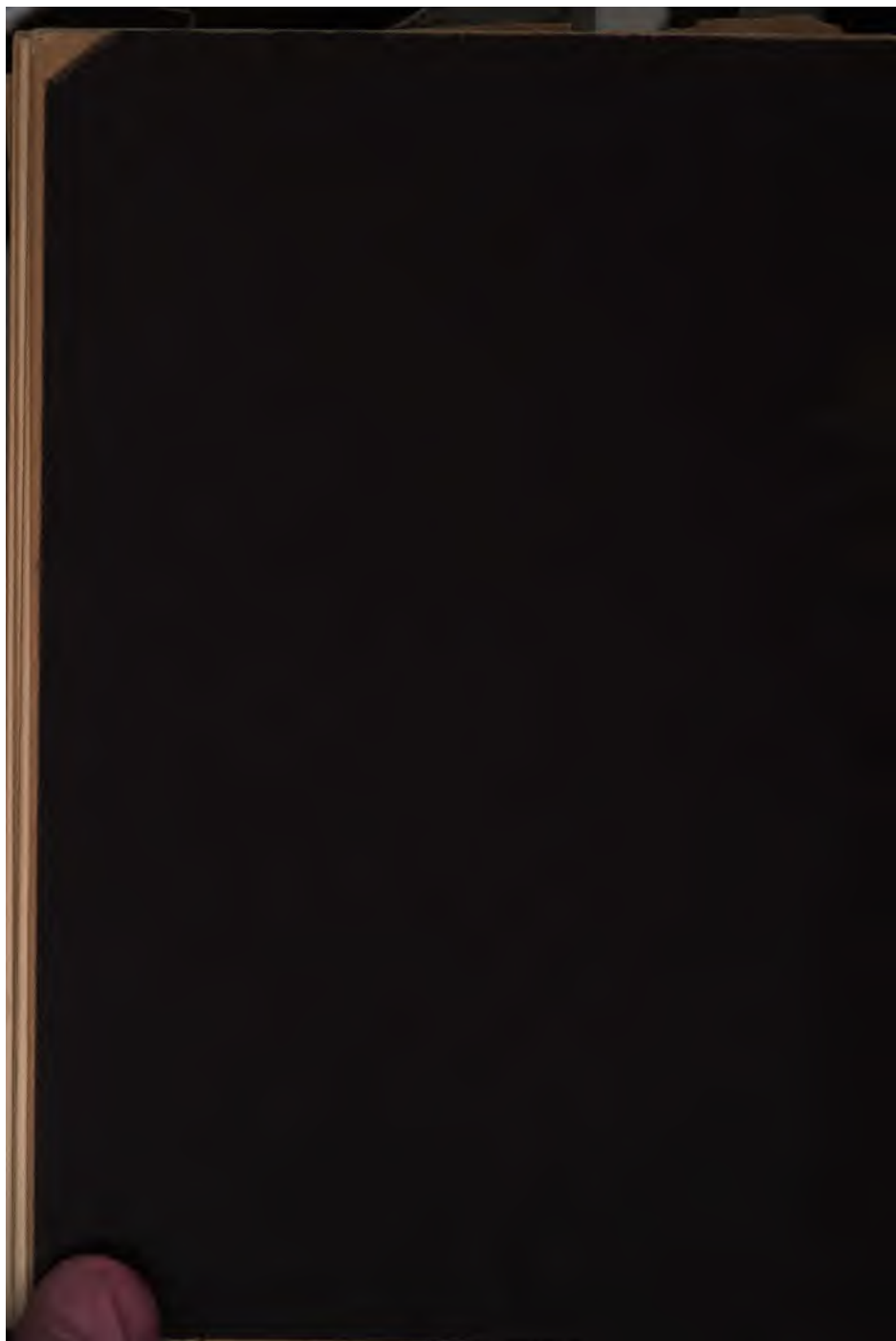
And I would take this opportunity to express my gratitude for those generous benefactions whereby this infant institution has been hitherto supported; and I hope through the blessing of God upon our endeavours, those pious benefactors will have occasion for the most easy and comfortable reflections, as having made an offering acceptable to God, and bestowed it well for the advancement of the kingdom, and glory of the great Redeemer: And that the blessing of many of our *American* heathens, who shall in the present and succeeding generations, reap the benefit thereof, may come upon them: And that others understanding that this school still lives, under God, upon the charity of good men, will be moved to open their hands to minister further, and necessary supplies for it.

Eleazar Wheelock, the noble teacher of the Indians in the last century and the founder of Dartmouth College, was born in Windham, Conn., in 1711, graduated at Yale College in 1733, and was ordained over the Second church in Lebanon, Conn., in 1735. He worked for a time with such zeal that he preached in one year "a hundred more sermons than there are days in the year." He took pupils into his house to educate, and in 1743 received Samson Occom, a Mohican Indian. He now conceived the plan of an Indian missionary school, and by 1762 he had nearly twenty Indian youths under his charge, supported by the contributions of benevolent people. Joshua Moor, a Mansfield farmer, gave the school a house and two acres of land in Lebanon, in 1754, and the school took the name of Moor's Indian Charity-school. In 1766, Occom and Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker went to England, and by their exertions an endowment of about £10,000 was obtained. A list is still preserved of subscriptions made from two hundred places in Great Britain. The Earl of Dartmouth became the president of the board of trustees. In 1770 the school was removed to Dresden (now Hanover), N. H., that place being chosen for its healthfulness and also on account of the large landed endowment proffered by Governor Wentworth; and a college for general higher education was added, named for Lord Dartmouth, although he and the other trustees of the Indian school were opposed to its establishment, and the two institutions remained nominally separate until 1849. Wheelock became president of the college, with the privilege of naming his successor. He died in 1779, during the Revolution, which blighted the prospects of the Indian school, as many tribes adhered to England, although the Oneidas were probably kept from doing so by the influence of the school. Dr. Wheelock published several "continuations" of his narrative of the Indian school, those of 1771 and 1772, describing the removal to Hanover and the hardships attending the opening of the school in the wilderness,—for Hanover was then a wilderness, and the motto on the seal of Dartmouth College is *Vox clamantis in Deserto*,—being especially interesting. Wheelock's work for the education of the Indians is conspicuous in our colonial history. But the student should read of the effort at Henrico, in Virginia, in 1619, of the early efforts at Harvard,—the first brick building on the grounds at Harvard was the Indian College, for the education of Indian youth, and in this building Eliot's Indian Bible was printed,—the plans of Robert Boyle and Bishop Berkeley, etc.









OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS

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INTRODUCTION.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS are prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history, among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be permanently sustained in Boston and established with equal success in other cities of the country.

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THE
SIXTH
OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

SIXTH SERIES,

1888.

BOSTON:
OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.

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INTRODUCTION.

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The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But this object is liberally construed, and a constant aim is to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history, and our indebtedness to the long past. Next year (1889) will be the centennial both of the founding of our own national government and of the beginning of the French Revolution. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries, afforded by this year's course of lectures, would be a good preparation for that great anniversary and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history.

In connection with the lectures, the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort has been made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant and useful. — 11th Century: Lanfranc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died, **1089**. 12th Cent.: Richard I crowned, **1189**. 13th Cent.: Dante at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, **1289**. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, **1384**. 15th Cent.: America discovered, **1492**. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, **1588**. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, **1688**. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastille fell, **1789**.

The Old South Leaflets for the year, corresponding with the several lectures, are as follows: 1. — "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's *History of the English People*. 2. — "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf. 3. — "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia*. 4. — "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation. 5. — "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's *Cosmos*. 6. — "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's *Annals*. 7. — "The Bill of Rights," 1689. 8. — "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history. These Leaflets for 1888

are sold for five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred; the series of eight, neatly bound in flexible cloth cover, forty cents. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House, Boston*. Schools and the trade are supplied by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, New York and Chicago.

The Leaflets for 1883 are now mostly out of print. The series for 1884, 1885, 1886, and 1887, uniformly bound in flexible cloth covers, may be procured at the Old South Meeting House, for twenty-five cents per volume.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published, during the last six years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the Directors have determined upon the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They will consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and will be sold at the low price of five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Schools and the trade will be supplied by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics, and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such Leaflets as those now proposed. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of this *general series* of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first thirteen numbers, which are now ready. A large proportion of these early numbers relate to the Constitution and the history of its growth, which are now subjects of special interest to historical students.

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics have also published a Manual of the Constitution of the United States, with bibliographical and historical notes and outlines for study, by Edwin D. Mead. This manual is published for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. Our societies of young men and women entering upon historical and political studies can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House*.

*Old South Meeting House,
Boston, 1888.*



Old South Leaflets.

SIXTH SERIES, 1888.

No. 1.

THE
Early History
OF
Oxford.

FROM GREEN'S SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

It is in the reign of Henry the Third that the English universities begin to exercise a definite influence on the intellectual life of Englishmen. Of the early history of Cambridge we know little or nothing, but enough remains to enable us to trace the early steps by which Oxford attained to its intellectual eminence. The establishment of the great schools which bore the name of universities was everywhere throughout Europe the special mark of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervor of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more civilized East. Travelers like Adelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad. The earliest classical revival restored Cæsar and Virgil to the list of monastic studies, and left its stamp on the pedantic style, the profuse classical quotations of writers like William of Malmesbury or John of Salisbury. The scholastic philosophy sprung up in the schools of Paris. The Roman law was revived by the imperialist doctors of Bologna. The long mental inactivity of feudal Europe was broken up like ice before a summer's sun. Wandering teachers like Lanfranc or Anselm crossed sea and land to spread the new power of knowledge. The same spirit of restlessness, of inquiry, of impatience with the older traditions of mankind, either local or intellectual, that had hurried half Christendom to the tomb of its Lord, crowded the roads with thousands of young scholars hurrying to the chosen seats where teachers were gathered together. A new power had sprung up in the midst of a world as yet under the rule of sheer brute force. Poor as they were, sometimes even of a servile race, the wandering scholars who lectured in every cloister were hailed as "masters" by the crowds at their feet. Abelard was a foe worthy of

the menaces of councils, of the thunders of the Church. The teaching of a single Lombard was of note enough in England to draw down the prohibition of a king. When Vacarius, probably a guest in the court of Archbishop Theobald, where. Becket and John of Salisbury were already busy with the study of the canon law, opened lectures on it at Oxford, he was at once silenced by Stephen, then at war with the Church, and jealous of the power which the wreck of the royal authority and the anarchy of his rule had already thrown into its hands.

. At the time of the arrival of Vacarius, Oxford stood in the first rank among English towns. Its town church of St. Martin rose from the midst of a huddled group of houses, girt in with massive walls, that lay along the dry upper ground of a low peninsula between the streams of Cherwell and the upper Thames. The ground fell gently on either side, eastward and westward, to these rivers, while on the south a sharper descent led down across swampy meadows to the city bridge. Around lay a wild forest country, the moors of Cowley and Bullingdon fringing the course of the Thames, the great woods of Shotover and Bagley closing the horizon to the south and east. Though the two huge towers of its Norman castle marked the strategic importance of Oxford as commanding the great river valley along which the commerce of Southern England mainly flowed, its walls formed, perhaps, the least element in its military strength, for on every side but the north the town was guarded by the swampy meadows along Cherwell, or by the intricate network of streams into which Isis breaks among the meadows of Osney. From the midst of these meadows rose a mitred abbey of Benedictines, which, with the older priory of St. Frideswide, gave the town some ecclesiastical dignity. The residence of the earl within its castle, the frequent visits of English kings to a palace within its walls, the presence again and again of important parliaments, marked its political weight within the realm. The settlement of one of the wealthiest among the English Jewries in the very heart of the town indicated, while it promoted, the activity of its trade. Its burghers were proud of a liberty equal to that of London, while the close and peculiar alliance of the capital promised the city a part almost equal to its own in the history of England. No city better illustrates the transformation of the land in the hands of its Norman masters, the sudden outburst of industrial effort, the sudden expansion of commerce and accumulation of wealth, which followed the Conquest. To the west of the town *rose one of the statelyest of English castles*, and in the meadows

beneath the hardly less stately abbey of Osney. In the fields to the north the last of the Norman kings raised his palace of Beaumont. The canons of St. Frideswide reared the church which still exists as the diocesan cathedral, while the piety of the Norman Castellans rebuilt almost all the parish churches of the city, and founded within their new castle walls the church of the Canons of St. George. We know nothing of the causes which drew students and teachers within the walls of Oxford. It is possible that here as elsewhere the new teacher had quickened older educational foundations, and that the cloisters of Osney and St. Frideswide already possessed schools which burst into a larger life under the impulse of Vacarius. As yet, however, the fortunes of the university were obscured by the glories of Paris. English scholars gathered in thousands around the chairs of William of Champeaux or Abelard. The English took their place as one of the "nations" of the French University. John of Salisbury became famous as one of the Parisian teachers. Becket wandered to Paris from his school at Merton. But through the peaceful reign of Henry the Second Oxford was quietly increasing in numbers and repute. Forty years after the visit of Vacarius its educational position was fully established. When Gerald of Wales read his amusing Topography of Ireland to its students, the most learned and famous of the English clergy were, he tells us, to be found within its walls. At the opening of the thirteenth century Oxford was without a rival in its own country, while in European celebrity it took rank with the greatest schools of the Western world. But to realize this Oxford of the past we must dismiss from our minds all recollections of the Oxford of the present. In the outer aspect of the new university there was nothing of the pomp that overawes the freshman as he first paces the "High," or looks down from the gallery of St. Mary's. In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a medieval town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging-houses, clustering around teachers as poor as themselves in church-porch and house-porch — drinking, quarreling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets — take the place of the brightly-colored train of doctors and heads. Mayor and chancellor struggle in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. The retainers who follow their young lords to the University fight out the feuds of their houses in the streets. Scholars from Kent and scholars from Scotland wage the bitter struggle of North and

South. At night-fall roysterer and reveler roam with torches through the narrow lanes, defying bailiffs and cutting down burghers at their doors. Now a mob of clerks plunges into the Jewry, and wipes off the memory of bills and bonds by sacking a Hebrew house or two. Now a tavern row between scholar and townsman widens into a general broil, and the academical bell of St. Mary's vies with the town bell of St. Martin's in clanging to arms. Every phase of ecclesiastical controversy or political strife is preluded by some fierce outbreak in this turbulent, surging mob. When England growls at the exactions of the Papacy, the students besiege a legate in the abbot's house at Osney. A murderous town-and-gown row precedes the opening of the Barons' War. "When Oxford draws knife," runs the old rhyme, "England's soon at strife."

But the turbulence and stir is a stir and turbulence of life. A keen thirst for knowledge, a passionate poetry of devotion, gathered thousands around the poorest scholar and welcomed the barefoot friar. Edmund Rich—Archbishop of Canterbury and saint in later days—came, a boy of twelve years old, from the little lane at Abingdon that still bears his name. He found his school in an inn that belonged to the abbey of Eynsham, where his father had taken refuge from the world. His mother was a pious woman of his day, too poor to give her boy much outfit besides the hair shirt that he promised to wear every Wednesday; but Edmund was no poorer than his neighbors. He plunged at once into the nobler life of the place, its ardor for knowledge, its mystical piety. "Secretly," perhaps at eventide when the shadows were gathering in the church of St. Mary's, and the crowd of teachers and students had left its aisles, the boy stood before an image of the Virgin, and, placing a ring of gold upon its finger, took Mary for his bride. Years of study, broken by the fever that raged among the crowded, noisome streets, brought the time for completing his education at Paris, and Edmund, hand in hand with a brother Robert of his, begged his way, as poor scholars were wont, to the great school of Western Christendom. On his return from Paris he became the most popular of Oxford teachers. It is to him that Oxford owes her first introduction to the Logic of Aristotle. We see him in the little room which he hired, with the Virgin's chapel hard by, his gray gown reaching to his feet, ascetic in his devotion, falling asleep in lecture-time after a sleepless night of prayer, with a grace and cheerfulness of manner which told of *his French training*, and a chivalrous love of knowledge that let

his pupils pay what they would. "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the young tutor would say, a touch of scholarly pride perhaps mingling with his contempt of worldly things, as he threw down the fee on the dusty window-ledge, where a thievish student would sometimes run off with it. But even knowledge brought its troubles; the Old Testament, which with a copy of the Decretals long formed his sole library, frowned down upon a love of secular learning from which Edmund found it hard to wean himself. At last, in some hour of dream, the form of his dead mother floated into the room where the teacher stood among his mathematical diagrams. "What are these?" she seemed to say; and seizing Edmund's right hand she drew on the palm three circles interlaced, each of which bore the name of one of the Persons of the Christian Trinity. "Be these," she cried, as her figure faded away, "thy diagrams henceforth, my son."

The story admirably illustrates the real character of the new training, and the latent opposition between the spirit of the Universities and the spirit of the Church. The feudal and ecclesiastical order of the old medieval world were both alike threatened by the power that had so strangely sprung up in the midst of them. Feudalism rested on local isolation, on the severance of kingdom from kingdom, and barony from barony, on the distinction of blood and race, on the supremacy of material or brute force, on an allegiance determined by accidents of place and social position. The University, on the other hand, was a protest against this isolation of man from man. The smallest school was European, and not local. Not merely every province of France, but every people of Christendom, had its place among the "nations" of Paris or Padua. A common language, the Latin tongue, superseded within academical bounds the warring tongues of Europe. A common intellectual kinship and rivalry took the place of the petty strifes which parted province from province or realm from realm. What the Church and Empire had both aimed at and both failed in, the knitting of Christian nations together into a vast commonwealth, the Universities for a time actually did. Dante felt himself as little a stranger in the "Latin" quarter around Mont St. Geneviève as under the arches of Bologna. Wandering Oxford scholars carried the writings of Wyclif to the libraries of Prague. In England the work of provincial fusion was less difficult or important than elsewhere, but even in England work had to be done. The feuds of Northerner and Southerner which so long disturbed the discipline of Oxford witnessed at any rate to the fact that North-

erner and Southerner had at last been brought face to face in its streets. And here as elsewhere the spirit of natural isolation was held in check by the larger comprehensiveness of the University. After the dissensions that threatened the prosperity of Paris in the thirteenth century, Norman and Gascon mingled with Englishmen in Oxford lecture-halls. At a far later time the rebellion of Owen Glyndwyr found hundreds of Welsh scholars gathered around its teachers. And within this strangely mingled mass society and government rested on a purely democratic basis. The son of the noble stood on precisely the same footing with the poorest mendicant among Oxford scholars. Wealth, physical strength, skill in arms, pride of ancestry and blood, the very basis on which feudal society rested, went for nothing in Oxford lecture-rooms. The University was a state absolutely self-governed, and whose citizens were admitted by a purely intellectual franchise. Knowledge made the "master." To know more than one's fellows was a man's sole claim to be a "ruler" in the schools; and within this intellectual aristocracy all were equal. The free commonwealth of the masters gathered in the aisles of St. Mary's as the free commonwealth of Florence gathered in Santa Maria Novella. All had an equal right to counsel, all had an equal vote in the final decision. Treasury and library were at the complete disposal of the body of masters. It was their voice that named every officer, that proposed and sanctioned every statute. Even the Chancellor, their head, who had at first been an officer of the Bishop, became an elected officer of their own.

If the democratic spirit of the universities threatened feudalism, their spirit of intellectual inquiry threatened the Church. To all outer seeming they were purely ecclesiastical bodies. The wide extension which medieval usage gave to the word "orders" gathered the whole educated world within the pale of the clergy. Whatever might be their age or proficiency, scholar and teacher were alike clerks, free from lay responsibilities or the control of civil tribunals, and amenable only to the rule of the Bishop and the sentence of his spiritual courts. This ecclesiastical character of the University appeared in that of its head. The Chancellor, as we have seen, was at first no officer of the University, but of the ecclesiastical body under whose shadow he had sprung into life. He was simply the local officer of the Bishop of Lincoln, within whose immense diocese the University was then situated. But this identification in outer form with the Church only rendered more conspicuous the dif-

ference of its spirit. The sudden expansion of the field of education diminished the importance of those purely ecclesiastical and theological studies which had hitherto absorbed the whole intellectual energies of mankind. The revival of classical literature, the rediscovery as it were of an older and a greater world, the contact with a larger, freer life, whether in mind, in society, or in politics, introduced a spirit of skepticism, of doubt, of denial, into the realms of unquestioning belief. Abelard claimed for reason the supremacy over faith. The Florentine poets discussed with a smile the immortality of the soul. Even to Dante, while he censures these, Virgil is as sacred as Jeremiah. The imperial ruler in whom the new culture took its most notable form, Frederick the Second, the "World's Wonder" of his time, was regarded by half Europe as no better than an infidel. The faint revival of physical science, so long crushed as magic by the dominant ecclesiasticism, brought Christians into perilous contact with the Moslem and the Jew. The books of the Rabbis were no longer a mere accursed thing to Roger Bacon. The scholars of Cordova were no mere Paynim swine to Adelard of Bath. How slowly and against what obstacles science won its way we know from the witness of Roger Bacon. "Slowly," he tells us, "has any portion of the philosophy of Aristotle come into use among the Latins. His Natural Philosophy and his Metaphysics, with the Commentaries of Averroes and others, were translated in my time, and interdicted at Paris up to the year A.D. 1237, because of their assertion of the eternity of the world and of time, and because of the book of the divinations by dreams (which is the third book, *De Somniis et Vigiliis*), and because of many passages erroneously translated. Even his logic was slowly received and lectured on. For St. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first in my time who read the Elements at Oxford. And I have seen Master Hugo, who first read the book of Posterior Analytics, and I have seen his writing. So there were but few, considering the multitude of the Latins, who were of any account in the philosophy of Aristotle; nay, very few indeed, and scarcely any up to this year of grace 1292."

We shall see later how fiercely the Church fought against this tide of opposition, and how it won back the allegiance of the universities through the begging friars. But it was in the ranks of the friars themselves that the intellectual progress of the universities found its highest representative. The life of Roger Bacon almost covers the thirteenth century; he was the

child of royalist parents, who had been driven into exile and reduced to poverty by the civil wars. From Oxford, where he studied under Edmund of Abingdon, to whom he owed his introduction to the works of Aristotle, he passed to the University of Paris, where his whole heritage was spent in costly studies and experiments. "From my youth up," he writes, "I have labored at the sciences and tongues. I have sought the friendship of all men among the Latins who had any reputation for knowledge. I have caused youths to be instructed in languages, geometry, arithmetic, the construction of tables and instruments, and many needful things besides." The difficulties in the way of such studies as he had resolved to pursue were immense. He was without instruments or means of experiment. "Without mathematical instruments no science can be mastered," he complains afterward; "and these instruments are not to be found among the Latins, and could not be made for two or three hundred pounds. Besides, better tables are indispensably necessary, tables on which the motions of the heavens are certified from the beginning to the end of the world without daily labor; but these tables are worth a king's ransom, and could not be made without a vast expense. I have often attempted the composition of such tables, but could not finish them through failure of means and the folly of those whom I had to employ."

Books were difficult and sometimes even impossible to procure. "The scientific works of Aristotle, of Avicenna, of Seneca, of Cicero, and other ancients, cannot be had without great cost; their principal works have not been translated into Latin, and copies of others are not to be found in ordinary libraries or elsewhere. The admirable books of Cicero de Republica are not to be found anywhere, so far as I can hear, though I have made anxious inquiry for them in different parts of the world, and by various messengers. I could never find the works of Seneca, though I made diligent search for them during twenty years and more. And so it is with many more most useful books connected with the sciences of morals." It is only words like these of his own that bring home to us the keen thirst for knowledge, the patience, the energy of Roger Bacon. He returned as a teacher to Oxford, and a touching record of his devotion to those whom he taught remains in the story of John of London, a boy of fifteen, whose ability raised him above the general level of his pupils. "When he came to me as a poor boy," says Bacon, in recommending him *to the Pope*, "I caused him to be nurtured and instructed for

the love of God, especially since for aptitude and innocence I have never found so towardly a youth. Five or six years ago I caused him to be taught in languages, mathematics, and optics, and I have gratuitously instructed him with my own lips since the time that I received your mandate. There is no one at Paris who knows so much of the root of philosophy, though he has not produced the branches, flowers, and fruit because of his youth, and because he has had no experience in teaching. But he has the means of surpassing all the Latins if he live to grow old and goes on as he has begun."

The University of Bologna has celebrated its eighth centennial the present summer. Some of the young people have read about the celebration and how honorary degrees were conferred by the old university upon Lowell and other Americans and Gladstone and other Englishmen. The orator of the occasion was the poet Carducci. Translations of interesting passages from his oration are given in an article on the celebration, in the *Nation* for July 19, 1888. The orator showed how the University of Bologna formed the model for other universities in Europe, the statutes of two at least in the extreme north, those of Upsala and Glasgow, being mere copies of the statutes of Bologna; and he dwelt, as Mr. Green does in the passage in the present Leaflet, upon the democratic character and influences of the early universities. "The constitution was democratic. The fervor of liberty which warmed the Italian city had, it seems, invaded also those beyond the mountains. These Franks, these Germans, these Bohemians and Poles, coming from their feudal castles, their abbeys and their lordly chapters, learned to subject themselves to civil order, felt the advantage of living in common, and got to desire equality. After strange journeys by sea and over the Alps, students of all Europe meeting here found again their native countries in the 'nations' which constituted the University; had their State in the University; and, in the common use of the Latin tongue, aspired to that higher unity, that civil brotherhood of peoples for good, which Rome had sent out with its law, which the Gospel had proclaimed in spiritual things, which the civilization of to-day wishes with reason."

Laurie's *Rise and Early Constitution of Universities* is the best book on the subject for the young people and the general reader; it contains special chapters on the early history of the universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, and Prague. The careful student will read the criticism of Mr. Laurie's work by Rev. H. Rashdall, in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1888. Mr. Rashdall's own article on the *Origines of the University of Paris*, in the same review for October, 1886, is a most learned and

valuable study of early university history. Its first paragraph thus states the important place of the university of Paris in the life of the middle ages : “ *Sacerdotium, Imperium, Studium*, are brought together by a mediæval writer as the three mysterious potencies or ‘virtues’ by whose harmonious coöperation the life and health of Christendom must be sustained. To the mediæval mind the *studium* did not, any more than the *sacerdotium* or the *imperium*, represent a mere abstraction. As the secular hierarchy was crowned by the Holy Roman Empire, as the sacerdotal order throughout Christendom looked for its head and centre to the city of the seven hills, so the intellectual life of mediæval Europe found its concrete embodiment in an intellectual hierarchy, no less distinct and definite than the secular or the spiritual, whose head and centre was the university of Paris. To the university of Paris, whose four faculties were likened by mediæval imagination to the fourfold river of Paradise, could be traced as to their ultimate source and fountain-head all the streams of knowledge by which the whole church was watered and fertilized. In the university of Paris—the ‘first school of the church’—France possessed her equivalent to the Italian papacy and the German Cæsarship in the politico-ecclesiastical system of Europe. . . . For the appreciation of the intellectual, social and ecclesiastical life of the middle ages, a knowledge of the university system is as important as a knowledge of the feudal system or of the ecclesiastical system, or of the constitutional history of particular states.”

Mr. Rashdall’s article is based on the great German work on the Universities of the Middle Ages by Father Denifle (*Die Universitäten des Mittelalters, bis 1400*. Von P. Heinrich Denifle), to which he pays this high tribute : “The first real book on the subject as a whole is likely to be, in a sense, the final one. Of the thoroughness, the patience and the vast learning which have been brought to bear upon the task, it would be impossible to speak with sufficient admiration. When the work shall be complete, comparatively scanty gleanings will, in all probability, be left for future workers in the way of collecting fresh materials, and not very much in the way of better critical appreciation and interpretation of them.” Mullinger, in the preface to his history of Cambridge, makes the same high estimate of Denifle’s work, which is likely to remain the great authority in this field. The older German authorities were Savigny and Meiners. The various general histories of education treat, of course, of the rise of the universities in the middle ages. John Henry Newman has written much on the mediæval universities, etc. The valuable article on *Universities* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Mullinger, contains references to many valuable books. See also the references in Poole’s Index, under the head of *Universities*.

There are many good books on Oxford and Cambridge. Anthony Wood was the great Oxford antiquary; his *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* is invaluable for later workers. Cooper’s works on

Cambridge contain great stores of information for the student of that university. Old Thomas Fuller, two hundred years ago and more, also wrote a *History of the University of Cambridge*, which is famous in its way. But these are books for the special student. The general reader will take the new histories of Oxford by Lyte and Brodrick—the latter a small work especially commended to the young people—and Mr. Mullinger's books on Cambridge, *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*, and *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*. Masson's *Life and Times of Milton* contains most interesting and valuable studies of Cambridge in the 17th century, the Puritan time. Two American scholars who have studied at Cambridge in this later time have written interesting books about that university—C. A. Bristed, *Five Years in an English University*, and William Everett, *On the Cam*. The latter is the best book that the young people can read about Cambridge; it is an eloquent book, it gives much attention to history, and it is especially full about the Puritan time and the Cambridge scholars who came to New England.

Sir Alexander Grant's *Story of the University of Edinburgh* should be mentioned in this general connection. And reference may be made to two books on the *German Universities*, one by an American scholar, Mr. Hart, the other by a German professor, Conrad, translated by John Hutchinson, with a preface by James Bryce, containing some useful comparisons of the German universities with the English and American. But both these works relate to modern German university life. There is no good work in English on the history of the German universities. Read Helmholtz's address on *Academical Freedom in German Universities*, Huxley on *Universities, Actual and Ideal*, and Gladstone on *The Work of Universities*.

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the lecture on the Great Schools of the Middle Ages is 1089, the year when Lanfranc died at Canterbury. He was 84 years old, having been born in 1005, at Pavia in Italy, itself a noted seat of learning. Here and at Bologna he studied law, almost a century before Irnerius first made Bologna famous. While still a young man he migrated from Italy to Normandy with some learned companions, and set up a school at Avranches. Then he left the law and became a monk, and in a few years made the monastery of Bec, of which he was prior, the most famous school in France. He became the friend of Duke William of Normandy, and one of his intimate advisers in the years preceding and following the Conquest. It was in 1066 that William defeated Harold at Hastings and became King of England. Four years afterward Lanfranc was made archbishop of Canterbury, and he lived two years after the death of the Conqueror.

When Lanfranc was a boy, Canute the Dane was King of England.

It was just as he left Italy to open his school in Normandy (1039) that Macbeth in Scotland murdered Duncan. It was while he was prior of Bec that Hildebrand became cardinal, and three years after he became archbishop of Canterbury that Hildebrand became pope (Gregory VII), the greatest pope who ever lived. Three years after that (1076) the Turks took Jerusalem, which provoked the Crusades, the object of which was to redeem the Holy City. The next year (1077) was the year of the famous submission of the emperor, Henry IV, to the pope at Canossa. It was while Lanfranc was at Bec that Peter the Hermit was born at Amiens, not far away, and only six years after Lanfranc's death that he preached the first Crusade. St. Bernard, the great reviver of the Cistercian monastic order and the preacher of the second Crusade, was born only two years after Lanfranc's death. The Carthusian order was founded at Rome by St. Bruno just before Lanfranc died. The four principal schoolmen of the first period—it is customary to divide the history of scholasticism into two periods, the chief names in the later period being Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus—were all living while Lanfranc lived, viz., Roscellinus, Anselm, William of Champeaux, and Abelard. Roscellinus was born not far from Bec about the time that Lanfranc was prior of Bec; Anselm was Lanfranc's successor both as prior of Bec and as archbishop of Canterbury.—Anselm's controversy with Roscellinus and Lanfranc's own controversy with Berengarius of Tours were the two most famous of the early scholastic controversies; William of Champeaux, who was the first great teacher in the university of Paris, was born just as Lanfranc became archbishop; and Abelard, William's famous pupil and successor at Paris, was a boy of ten when Lanfranc died. These are all things easy to remember, they can all be easily related to the life of this great friend of William the Conqueror, and one who remembers so much will have a key to very much of medieval history.

Following are the dates of the founding of some of the more modern universities: Prague, 1347. Cracow, 1364. Vienna, 1364. Erfurt, 1375. Heidelberg, 1385. Leipzig, 1409. St. Andrew's, 1411. Louvain, 1426. Glasgow, 1453. Tübingen, 1476. Upsala, 1477. Aberdeen, 1494. Wittenberg, 1502. Marburg, 1527. Königsberg, 1544. Jena, 1558. Leyden, 1575. Edinburgh, 1582. Trinity College, Dublin, 1591. Strasburg, 1621. Harvard, 1636. Halle, 1693. Yale, 1701. Breslau, 1702. Göttingen, 1736. Moscow, 1755. Berlin, 1809. Bonn, 1818. Munich, 1826. London, 1826.

Old South Leaflets.**Richard Cœur de Lion and the
Third Crusade.**

FROM THE *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi*, BY GEOFFREY DE
VINSANF, 1192.

When the report had spread throughout the world that the cities of the Holy Land were in possession of infidels, that the holy relics were scornfully treated and trodden under foot, and that the Christians were plundered and despoiled, the empires were moved by the most strenuous exhortation of Pope Gregory VIII, and many men of various nations were aroused, and above all the French and English devoutly took up the sign of the cross, and prepared with all their strength to hurry to the aid of the Holy Land, being incited like David to take vengeance on the Philistines, who were defying, with their Goliath, the oppressed armies of the God of Jerusalem. For the chief pontiff earnestly stimulated all to obtain by these means pardon for their sins, and according to the authority with which he was invested gave them absolution from the guilt of their past transgressions, if they would devote themselves to the performance of so pious and so necessary a work, proving to them that they would deservedly be the happier for undertaking the mission at once, in fervent zeal and without delay. Yea, their journey would be the more praiseworthy, and their endeavors many times more excellent, in behalf of a place, though desolate, yet rendered holier by the divine mystical promise, and which was consecrated by the nativity, dwelling and passion of our Lord. Moreover, it was distinguished, by the divine choice, from every other nation; and being His dwelling, ought to be snatched from the heathen, of whom the Lord had said, "that they should not enter into His Church." They hastened, therefore, with ready zeal and pious emulation to take the cross at the hands of the clergy; so that the question was, not who should take it up, but who had not already done so. The voice of song was now silenced, the pleasures of eating and luxurious

habits were abandoned, the quarrels of disputants quieted, new peace was made between old enemies, causes of litigation were settled by mutual agreement, and for this new ground of quarrel every one who had cause of dispute, even for long-standing enmity, was reconciled to his neighbor. What need is there to say more? By the inspiration of God all were of one accord, for one common cause led them to undertake the labor of this pious pilgrimage.

Richard, then count of Poitou, was the first to take up the cross, and an immense multitude with him; but they did not set out on their pilgrimage, owing to some delay occasioned by a dispute between Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, the father of Count Richard. An inveterate dispute had excited them to international war, as it had done their ancestors, the French and Normans, from an inexorable and almost uninterrupted feud. The archbishop of the land of Jerusalem, that is of Tyre,¹ was earnest to effect a reconciliation between them, and had fixed the day they were to meet, to take up the cross, at a place between Gisors and Trie. The aforesaid archbishop had come on a mission to animate the faithful, and obtain assistance for the deliverance of the Holy Land, having been specially sent to the king of England, the fame of whose virtues was spread far and wide above all the other kings of the earth, on account of his glory, riches, and the greatness of his power. On that day, after many plans had been proposed, and much spoken on either side, they both came finally to the determination that each of them should take up the cross and depart from his land, it appearing to each a safe precaution against the one invading the kingdom of the other while absent, for neither would venture to go unless the other went also. At length, these conditions having been, with some difficulty, agreed on, the two kings exchanged the kiss of peace, and assumed the cross with the blessing of the archbishop, and with them an immense number of both nations, partly from the love of God and for the forgiveness of their sins, partly from respect for their king; and so great was the multitude that took up the cross on that day, that the people, from the crush and intolerable heat (for it was summer), nearly fainted. The delay in entering upon their march must be reprehended; it was the work of the enemy of the human race, whose interest it is to foment discord and excite inexorable enmity, and by whose instigation the altercation between the

¹ This was William of Tyre, author of the well known history of the earlier period of the Crusades.

kings was revived, and the seeds of discord sown from a very light occasion, that by their diabolical superstition neither was inclined to forego, lest, as it were, his fame and honor should be derogated thereby; as if it were abject and mean to yield obedience to justice and right.

The death of Henry, king of England, put an end to these dissensions, and the vow of making the crusade, which he had deferred fulfilling while in safety, after a lapse of time could not be performed, by the intervention of his death. As a vow must be entirely voluntary, so when taken it must irrefragably be discharged; and he who binds himself by a vow is to be condemned for the non-performance of it, as he could not have made it lawfully but of his own accord and free will. Now King Henry died on the day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, in the year of our Lord 1189, and was buried at Fontevrault.

Therefore in the same year, after the death of his father, Richard, count of Poitou, having arranged his affairs in Normandy, in about two months crossed over to England, and on St. Giles's day he was received at Westminster with a ceremonious procession; and three days afterwards, viz., on the 3d of September, the day of the ordination of St. Gregory the pope, which was a Sunday, he was solemnly anointed king, by the imposition of hands, by Archbishop Baldwin, in virtue of his office, who performed the service, assisted by many of his suffragans. At his coronation were present his brother John, and his mother Eleanor, who, after the death of King Henry, had been, by the command of her son Richard, the new king, released from prison, where she had been ten years; and there were also present counts and barons, and an immense crowd of men and soldiers; and the kingdom was confirmed to the hands of King Richard. On the 3d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1189, Richard was anointed king, on a Sunday, with the dominical letter A, viz., in the year after leap year. Many were the conjectures made, because the day above that was marked unlucky in the calendar; and in truth it was unlucky, and very much so to the Jews of London, who were destroyed that day, and likewise the Jews settled in other parts of England endured many hardships. Having therefore celebrated the occasion by a festival of three days, and entertained his guests in the royal palace of Westminster, King Richard gratified all by distributing money, without count or number, to all according to their ranks, thus manifesting his liberality and his great

excellence. His generosity and his virtuous endowments the Ruler of the world should have given to the ancient times; for in this period of the world, as it waxes old, such feelings rarely exhibit themselves, and when they do they are subjects of wonder and astonishment. He had the valor of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, and was equal to Alexander, and not inferior to Roland in valor; he outshone many illustrious characters of our own times. The liberality of a Titus was his, and, which is so rarely found in a soldier, he was gifted with the eloquence of Nestor and the prudence of Ulysses; and he shewed himself preëminent in the conclusion and transaction of business, as one whose knowledge was not without active good will to aid it, nor his good will wanting in knowledge. Who, if Richard were accused of presumption, would not readily excuse him, knowing him for a man who never knew defeat, impatient of an injury, and impelled irresistibly to vindicate his rights, though all he did was characterized by innate nobleness of mind. Success made him better fitted for action; fortune ever favors the bold, and though she works her pleasure on whom she will, Richard was never to be overwhelmed with adversity. He was tall of stature, graceful in figure; his hair between red and auburn; his limbs were straight and flexible; his arms rather long, and not to be matched for wielding the sword or for striking with it; and his long legs suited the rest of his frame; while his appearance was commanding, and his manners and habits suitable; and he gained the greatest celebrity not more from his high birth than from the virtues that adorned him. But why need we take much labor in extolling the fame of so great a man? He needs no superfluous commendation, for he has a sufficient meed of praise, which is the sure companion of great actions. He was far superior to all others both in moral goodness and in strength, and memorable for prowess in battles, and his mighty deeds outshone the most brilliant description we could give of them. Happy, in truth, might he have been deemed had he been without rivals who envied his glorious actions, and whose only cause of enmity was his magnificence and his being the searcher after virtue rather than the slave of vice.

After the coronation feast was ended, as we before said, King Richard arose in his father's stead, and, after having received the oath of allegiance from the nobles, as was the custom, in the form of homage, and each having submitted to his sovereignty, he left London and went round his country; *and afterwards* he set out on a pilgrimage to St. Edmund,

whose festival was at hand; thence he went to Canterbury, and at his command some bishoprics, which, having become vacant, had been kept so by the king, his father, were filled up, and, with the approval of the king, the following were installed bishops: Richard the treasurer, of London; Godfrey de Luci, of Winchester; Hubert Walter, of Salisbury; William de Longchamp, of Ely, whom the king also made his chancellor and justiciary of all England. In like manner, also, the king caused bishops to be ordained to the vacant bishoprics in his other territories. Having prepared everything necessary for his journey, and having set the kingdom of England in order as far as time permitted, he returned to Normandy without delay, and kept the festival of the Nativity of Our Lord at Liens; for his intention of setting out upon his journey and the fulfilment of his vow made him unceasingly anxious, as he judged delay to be dangerous, whilst it was of consequence to commence the journey which was due; wherefore he wrote to the king of France that he was quite ready to set out, and urged that he should be ready also, showing by his father's example that delay was hurtful when everything was prepared. Therefore, in the year of our Lord 1190, with the dominical letter G, the kings met at Dreux to confer about the arrangement of their journey. After many had communicated their opinions, and while the conference was going on, there suddenly arrived a messenger with the news that the queen of France was dead. The king, smitten by the bitterness of this news, was greatly cast down, so that he almost thought of laying aside his premeditated journey; and to augment this bereavement, news was brought that William, king of Apulia, was likewise dead. Overwhelmed by these adverse occurrences, and utterly overcome by the belief that they predicted ill, they abstained from the transaction of the business, and the fire of their zeal in a measure grew lukewarm. However, by the favor of the inspiration of God, who guideth the footsteps of man, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings, to prevent the ruin of a work planned with so much toil and solemnly arranged, and the turning into condemnation and disgrace what had been disposed for the attainment of good, they recovered their strength, and were animated to proceed and set out, and not to grow lukewarm by unpardonable slothfulness. Now they had agreed together to set out on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that the kings, together with their men, should meet on the eighth day at Vezelai. Whereupon Philip, king of France, setting out from the city of Paris, which is the capital of France,

with a large quantity of provisions, shortly afterwards marched by the chapel of St. Denis, to whose prayers and merits he commended himself, and thus commenced his journey accompanied by a very large multitude. There also set out with him on his journey the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. Who can relate the progress of each with their forces? You might meet them on all sides flocking together and assembling from different parts, and joining together in one army, amidst pious tears; while those who went forward with their friends or kinsmen regarded them with a look of love, and on their departure were unable to restrain the tears from bursting forth, as devotion or sorrow affected them.

King Richard was at Tours with a chosen body of soldiers. Both the city and suburbs were so crowded with the multitude of men that they inconvenienced each other from the crowd and the narrowness of the streets and roads. Therefore, by the command of the king, the royal fleet, being collected together, was ordered to proceed in order, being in number a hundred and eight, not including the ships that followed afterwards. Thus the royal fleet, having been set forward on its voyage by the command of the king, with a fair wind and in close company, reached the destined port of Messina, after having safely escaped the dangerous sand-banks and the perils of the terrible rocks, the stormy straits of Africa, and all the dangers of the ocean. Here they awaited the arrival of the king, according to his command, who was marching with his army by land. When the king departed from Tours with his forces, the inhabitants of the land were terrified by the appearance of so great a multitude. Who could relate the numbers of those who accompanied him, the variety of their arms, the trains of nobles and chosen bands of combatants? Or who could describe the troops of infantry and their bodies of slingers, which those who saw as they advanced in order, from their inmost hearts and with pious zeal forcing out the tears, equally mourned and congratulated their lord the new king, who thus, at the commencement of his reign, without having tasted the sweets of rest, so devotedly and so speedily left all pleasures and, as if chosen by the Lord—undertook a work of so great goodness, so arduous and so necessary, and a journey so commendable. O, the miserable sighs for those that left them! O, the groans of those who embraced at parting! and the good wishes for those who were going away! O, the eyes *heavy with tears, and the mutual sobs interrupting the words of the speakers amidst the kisses of those who were dear to them,*

not yet satisfied with the conversation of those who were leaving them; and although they grieved, those who were setting out feigned equanimity by the gravity of their countenances, and separated from each other, after long conversations, as if choking for utterance, and, often interchanging a farewell, staid a little longer, and repeated it to gain delay and to appear about to say something more; and at last, tearing themselves from the voices of those that cheered them, they bounded forward and extricated themselves from the hands of those who would detain them.

Thus, in the first year of his coronation, Richard, king of England, set out from Tours on his journey. From Tours he marched to Luti, then to Mount Richard, after that to Celles, thence to Chapelles, thence to Dama, thence to Vitiliacum, that is, Vezelai, where the two kings and their forces were to meet. And because the people of both nations were reckoned to be incalculably numerous, the mountains far and wide were spread with pavilions and tents, and the surface of the earth around was covered, so that the level of the sowed fields which were occupied presented to the beholder the appearance of a city, with its effect heightened by a most imposing variety of pavilions and by the different colors that distinguished them. There you might see the martial youth of different nations equipped for war, which appeared able to subdue the whole length of the earth, and to overcome the countries of all the world, and to penetrate the retreat of different tribes, and judge no place too hard or no enemy too fierce to conquer, and that they would never yield to wrong while they could aid and assist each other by the help of their valor. That army, boasting in its immense numbers, well protected by the defence of their arms and glowing with ardor, was scattered by the intervention of disputes and overthrown by internal discord, which, if combined with military discipline and good will, would have remained invincible to all without; and thus, by the violation of the ties of fellowship, it met with a heavier downfall, whilst it was distracted by its own friends; for a house divided against itself is made desolate.

There the two kings made a treaty for their mutual security, and for preserving good faith with each other in every respect, and for inquiring into all things according to the rights of war, with a view to their equal division. Besides that he who should arrive first at Messina was to wait for the other to follow; after which, each of their friends who had followed them so far on *their pilgrimage* should return home. The two kings set forward

with their men, and arranged the manner of their march, holding frequent intercourse with great magnificence, and paying each other mutual honor; and being also of one accord, the mighty army, during the progress of their march, performed their duties without complaint or dissention — nay, with joy and alacrity. And as they thus passed along cities and villages with a mighty equipment and clash of arms, the inhabitants, observing the multitude and marking the distinctness of the men by the place of each nation in the march, and noticing their discipline, exclaimed, “O, heaven! what meaneth so great a multitude of men, and so mighty an army? Who can resist their valor? O, noble soldiery in the flower of their youth! O, young men, happy in so much beauty! Were your parents affected with sorrow at your departure? What land gave birth to youths of so distinguished a mien, or produced such fine young soldiers? And who are the rulers of so mighty a multitude that govern with their word such brave legions?” Uttering these words and such like, and following with good wishes those that passed, they paid the most marked attention to the people of different nations and those who were fatigued by the march by testifying all the devotion in their power.

“The Crusades were a series of wars undertaken professedly for the purpose of delivering the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidel, and so named from the cross worn as a badge by those who devoted themselves to the enterprise. These wars, it was held, were rendered necessary, not only by the profanation involved in the fact of Mahometan rule over the country which had been the birthplace and cradle of Christianity, but by the insults and injuries constantly inflicted on Christian pilgrims. . . . If the Crusades disappointed the expectations of their promoters, they achieved some results the benefits of which have been felt from that day to the present. They failed, indeed, to establish the permanent dominion of Latin Christendom, whether in New Rome or in Jerusalem; but they prolonged for nearly four centuries the life of the Eastern Empire, and by so doing they arrested the tide of Mahometan conquests as effectually as it was arrested for Western Europe by Charles Martel on the plain of Tours. They saved the Italian and perhaps even the Teutonic and the Scandinavian lands from a tyranny which has blasted the fairest regions of the earth; and if they added fuel to the flame of theological hatred between the Orthodox and the Latin churches, if they intensified the feelings of suspicion and dislike between the Eastern and the Western Christians, they yet opened the way for an interchange of thought and learning which had its result in the *revival of letters and in the religious reformation which followed that revival.*

If, again, of their leaders some showed themselves men of merciless cruelty and insatiable greed, there were others who like Tancred approached the ideal of the knightly chivalry of a later generation, and others again whose self-sacrifice, charity and heroic patience furnish an example for all time. The ulterior results of the Crusades were the breaking up of the feudal system, the abolition of serfdom, the supremacy of a common law over the independent jurisdiction of chiefs who claimed the right of private wars; and if for the time they led to deeds of iniquity which it would be monstrous even to palliate, it must yet be admitted that in their influence on later ages the evil has been assuredly outweighed by the good." — Cox.

The *Expedition of King Richard of England and others to Jerusalem*, from which the passage in the present Leaflet is taken, is said to be the only Chronicle written by an eye-witness of the furious conflicts between Saladin and Richard. The author, Geoffrey de Vinsauf (or Vinosalro), was connected with one of the English monasteries and was the author of numerous works, several of them poetical. He lived to see the death of Richard and the accession of John. His history of the Third Crusade breaks off abruptly at the time when the Crusaders embark to leave the Holy Land, at the end of the year 1192. But what we have fills almost 300 pages of the volume in Bohn's Library, *Chronicles of the Crusaders*, where the English translation is printed along with two other interesting Chronicles.

The number of writings by eye-witnesses of the different Crusades, which still exist, is very large. "There are more materials for a history of the first Crusade," says Von Sybel, "than for any other event of the early middle ages. They consist of official reports, of private communications from individual pilgrims to their friends at home, of many current histories written by eye-witnesses; all these, again, were amplified by writers in western Europe, who were not present themselves, but who drew their statements from eye-witnesses; and finally, after a lapse of eighty years, these documents were collected by one eminently fitted for the undertaking. Whosoever becomes familiar with all these narratives is astonished at the fullness of the life therein depicted, and may hope from such ample materials to obtain a thorough understanding of the course of events." Von Sybel's work on *The Literature of the Crusades* is a critical and most interesting account of all these original authorities, the letters of princes and popes, the letters of Stephen of Blois to his wife while he was on the Crusade, the journal of Raymond of Agiles, a priest in the retinue of the Count of Toulouse, the famous *Gesta Francorum*, the more important Chronicles of Albert of Aix, the painstaking history by William of Tyre, written in 1184, just before King Richard went on the third Crusade, etc. Of the later Crusades we also have many accounts by men who shared in them or knew about them at first-hand. Many interesting passages from these old accounts are given in an article entitled "The Crusades, by Crusaders," in the *British Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, reprinted in *Littell's Liv-*

ing Age, vol. xl. The writer of this article laments the fact that no word of Peter the Hermit, the great preacher of the first Crusade, has come down to us. "A wonderful man was this Peter the Hermit—slight and low in stature, mean in person, but with flashing eye; feeble too, as, clad in hood and tunic of unbleached wool, a coarse cloak scarcely covering his arms, and barefoot, he made his way among camps and courts, among crowded cities and unfrequented uplands, swaying all Europe by the might of his resistless eloquence. Marvelous must this have been. Would that some fragment of even one of his addresses, even a mere sentence or two of his burning words, had been preserved to us. We have many a speech of many a prelate recorded in the monkish annals of these times; we still have that of Urban at the council of Clermont, formal and prosy enough; but the rude eloquence of the soldier-hermit was, most likely, not of a kind for the learned convent writer to waste his glossy ink and choice vellum upon, and so, like the mighty effect that followed, all has passed away." This writer does not do justice to Pope Urban's famous speech, in calling it formal and prosy, although it is hard for us, reading the speech to-day, to understand the extraordinary impression which it made upon the multitudes who heard it. "They displayed an enthusiasm," says one writer, "that human eloquence had never before inspired;" at one point of the discourse, we read, the enthusiasm could be restrained no longer, but burst forth in cries of "God wills it!" uttered in almost every language of Europe. The speech can be found in Mills's *History of the Crusades* and in most of the histories. Some may like to look it up in its place (book iv, chap. ii) in the account of the first Crusade in the famous *Chronicle of the Kings of England* by William of Malmesbury, who was born perhaps the very year (1095) that the speech was made and wrote only thirty years later. "I have thought fit to transmit the discourse to posterity," says William, "as I have learned it from those who were present, preserving its sense unimpaired. Who can preserve the force of that eloquence?" He goes on to describe the uprising of Europe, telling how "all who had heard the name of Christ," even in the most distant lands—the Welshman, the Scot, the Dane, the Norwegian—left their hunting, fishing and drinking, and rallied for the Crusade. "Lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated. There was no regard to relationship; affection to their country was held in little esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes. Whatever was stored in granaries or hoarded in chambers, to answer the hopes of the avaricious husbandman or the covetousness of the miser, all, all was deserted; they hungered and thirsted after Jerusalem alone. Joy attended such as proceeded, while grief oppressed those who remained. But why do I say remained? You might see the husband departing with his wife, indeed with all his family; you would smile to see the whole household laden on a carriage, about to proceed on their journey. *The road was too narrow for the passengers, the path too confined for the*

travellers, so thickly were they thronged with endless multitudes. The number surpassed all human imagination, though the itinerants were estimated at six millions." [Pulcher, another chronicler, makes this estimate, but it is certainly an exaggeration.] "Doubtless, never did so many nations unite in one opinion; never did so immense a population subject their unruly passions to one direction, almost to no direction."

Michaud's *History of the Crusades* is the fullest and perhaps the best. The standard German history, by Wilken, has not been translated. There is an admirable short history in the "Epochs of History" series, by Cox, who also wrote the article on the Crusades in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* — and this short history will best serve the young people. The brief history by Dutton is also excellent. Gray's little book on *The Children's Crusade* is a most interesting account of that remarkable episode. Pears's *Fall of Constantinople* is a history of the fourth Crusade. Thomas Fuller's quaint old *History of the Holy War*, written two centuries and a half ago, is full of ultra Protestant prejudices and is not the most reliable history, but is very interesting in itself. In many of the more general histories, Gibbon, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Guizot's and Kitchin's histories of France, etc., the Crusades are treated. The chapter on the Origin and Intent of the Crusades, in Palgrave's *History of Normandy* (vol. iv, chap. x, — read also the interesting sections of chap. xi, on the literature of the Crusades), is especially valuable, and the severe judgment passed upon the motives of the Crusaders should be carefully considered. These motives are also admirably discussed by Allen, in the interesting chapter on the Crusades in his *Fragments of Christian History*, vol. ii. Heeren's *Influence of the Crusades* is an important essay; and Hegel devotes a special chapter to the subject in his *Philosophy of History*. Such biographical works as Morison's *Life of St. Bernard* contain much illustrative matter; and the various lives of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Edward I treat of England's part in the Crusades. Scott's *Ivanhoe*, *The Betrothed*, *The Talisman*, and *Count Robert of Paris*, are novels relating to the time of the Crusades. The first Crusade is the subject of Tasso's great epic, *Jerusalem Delivered*; and the scene of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* is laid in Jerusalem at the time of the third Crusade.

There were seven Crusades, or, as some historians reckon, counting two unimportant expeditions, nine. Allen, in the chapter above referred to, makes the following convenient summary of the seven: "1. The first Crusade, under Godfrey, establishes the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099. 2. The disastrous Crusade preached by St. Bernard, led by Conrad and Louis VII, sets forth in 1147. 3. The third Crusade, under Barbarossa, Philip of France, and Richard of England, is defeated by Saladin in 1190. 4. The Latin Fleet, under Baldwin, achieves the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. 5. Frederick II, having first sailed ineffectually (1218), becomes king of Jerusalem by treaty in 1227. 6. Louis IX of France

makes his disastrous campaign in Egypt, becoming master of Damietta in 1249. 7. He renews the attempt, lands, and dies in Tunis, in 1270." The period of the Crusades, therefore, from the preaching of Peter the Hermit in 1095 to the death of St. Louis, "the truest of all crusaders," in 1270, covers almost two centuries.

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the lecture on the Crusades is 1189, the year when Richard Cœur-de-Lion (32 years old) was crowned king of England. He departed on the third Crusade the next year. This time is about the middle of the epoch of the Crusades. St. Bernard, the great preacher of the second Crusade, had been dead almost forty years; St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominican order, was about twenty years old; St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, was a boy of seven. The Albigenses, against whom Dominic was by and by to instigate a crusade, were just becoming well-known heretics. The Waldenses were also being heard of; Peter Waldo was driven into exile from Lyons five years before Richard became king. Arnold of Brescia had been burnt at Rome about the time of Richard's birth. In England, Thomas à Becket had been assassinated in Canterbury cathedral when Richard was a boy. Richard died in 1199, ten years after his accession, and was succeeded by John, his brother, who was crowned the next year (1200) and signed Magna Charta in 1215. Simon de Montfort, who did so much to compel the observance of the Charter and to establish the English parliament, was born about the time John became king. Roger Bacon, the famous English scholar, was born the year before John signed the Charter.

Old South Leaflets.

The Universal Empire.

PASSAGES FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF DANTE'S *De Monarchia*.

It very greatly concerns all men on whom a higher nature has impressed the love of truth, that, as they have been enriched by the labor of those before them, so they also should labor for those that are to come after them, to the end that posterity may receive from them an addition to its wealth. For he is far astray from his duty — let him not doubt it — who, having been trained in the lessons of public business, cares not himself to contribute aught to the public good. He is no “tree planted by the water-side, that bringeth forth his fruit in due season.” He is rather the devouring whirlpool, ever engulfing, but restoring nothing. Pondering, therefore, often on these things, lest some day I should have to answer the charge of the talent buried in the earth, I desire not only to show the budding promise, but also to bear fruit for the general good, and to set forth truths by others unattempted. For what fruit can he be said to bear who should go about to demonstrate again some theorem of Euclid? or when Aristotle has shown us what happiness is, should show it to us once more? or when Cicero has been the apologist of old age, should a second time undertake its defence? Such squandering of labor would only engender weariness and not profit.

But seeing that among other truths, ill-understood yet profitable, the knowledge touching temporal monarchy is at once most profitable and most obscure, and that because it has no immediate reference to worldly gain it is left unexplored by all, therefore it is my purpose to draw it forth from its hiding-places, as well that I may spend my toil for the benefit of the world, as that I may be the first to win the prize of so great an achievement to my own glory. The work indeed is difficult, and I am attempting what is beyond my strength; but I trust not in my

own powers, but in the light of that Bountiful Giver, "Who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not."

Now, therefore, we must see what is the end of the whole civil order of men; and when we have found this, then, as the Philosopher¹ says in his book to Nicomachus, the half of our labor will have been accomplished. And to render the question clearer, we must observe that as there is a certain end for which nature makes the thumb, and another, different from this, for which she makes the whole hand, and again another for which she makes the arm, and another different from all for which she makes the whole man; so there is one end for which she orders the individual man, and another for which she orders the family, and another end for the city, and another for the kingdom, and finally an ultimate one for which the Everlasting God, by His art which is nature, brings into being the whole human race. And this is what we seek as a first principle to guide our whole inquiry.

Let it then be understood that God and nature make nothing to be idle. Whatever comes into being, exists for some operation or working. For no created essence is an ultimate end in the Creator's purpose, so far as he is Creator, but rather the proper operation of that essence. Therefore it follows that the operation does not exist for the sake of the essence, but the essence for the sake of the operation.

There is therefore a certain proper operation of the whole body of human kind, for which this whole body of men in all its multitudes is ordered and constituted, but to which no one man, nor single family, nor single neighborhood, nor single city, nor particular kingdom can attain. What this is will be manifest, if we can find what is the final and characteristic capacity of humanity as a whole. I say then that no quality which is shared by different species of things is the distinguishing capacity of any one of them. For were it so, since this capacity is that which makes each species what it is, it would follow that one essence would be specifically distributed to many species, which is impossible. Therefore the ultimate quality of men is not existence, taken simply; for the elements share therein. Nor is it existence under certain conditions; for we find this in minerals too. Nor is it existence with life; plants too have life. Nor is it percipient existence; for brutes share in this power. It is to be percipient with the possibility of understanding. The

¹ *The common title for Aristotle from the first half of the thirteenth century.*

distinguishing quality of humanity is the faculty or the power of understanding. And because this faculty cannot be realized in act in its entirety at one time by a single man, nor by any of the individual societies which we have marked, therefore there must be multitude in the human race, in order to realize it.

The proper work of the human race, taken as a whole, is to set in action the whole capacity of that understanding which is capable of development; first in the way of speculation, and then, by its extension, in the way of action. And seeing that what is true of a part is true also of the whole, and that it is by rest and quiet that the individual man becomes perfect in wisdom and prudence; so the human race, by living in the calm and tranquillity of peace, applies itself most freely and easily to its proper work; a work which, according to the saying: "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," is almost divine. Whence it is manifest that of all things that are ordered to secure blessings to men, peace is the best. And hence the word which sounded to the shepherds from above was not riches, nor pleasure, nor honor, nor length of life, nor health, nor strength, nor beauty; but peace. For the heavenly host said: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will." Therefore also, "Peace be with you," was the salutation of the Saviour of mankind. For it behoved Him, who was the greatest of saviours, to utter in His greeting the greatest of saving blessings. And this custom His disciples too chose to preserve; and Paul also did the same in his greetings, as may appear manifest to all.

Now that we have declared these matters, it is plain what is the better, nay the best, way in which mankind may attain to do its proper work. And consequently we have seen the readiest means by which to arrive at the point, for which all our works are ordered, as their ultimate end; namely, the universal peace, which is to be assumed as the first principle for our deductions. As we said, this assumption was necessary, for it is as a sign-post to us, that into it we may resolve all that has to be proved, as into a most manifest truth.

The first question is whether Temporal Monarchy [or the Empire] is necessary for the welfare of the world; and that it is necessary can, I think, be shown by the strongest and most manifest arguments; for nothing, either of reason or of authority, opposes me. Let us first take the authority of the Philoso-

pher in his Politics. There, on his venerable authority, it is said that where a number of things are arranged to attain an end, it behoves one of them to regulate or govern the others, and the others to submit. And it is not only the authority of his illustrious name which makes this worthy of belief, but also reason, instancing particulars.

If we take the case of a single man, we shall see the same rule manifested in him ; all his powers are ordered to gain happiness ; but his understanding is what regulates and governs all the others ; and otherwise he would never attain to happiness. Again, take a single household : its end is to fit the members thereof to live well ; but there must be one to regulate and rule it, who is called the father of the family, or, it may be, one who holds his office. As the Philosopher says : " Every house is ruled by the oldest." And, as Homer says, it is his duty to make rules and laws for the rest. Hence the proverbial curse : " Mayst thou have an equal home." Take a single village : its end is suitable assistance as regards persons and goods, but one in it must be the ruler of the rest, either set over them by another, or with their consent, the head man amongst them. If it be not so, not only do its inhabitants fail of this mutual assistance, but the whole neighborhood is sometimes wholly ruined by the ambition of many, who each of them wish to rule. If, again, we take a single city : its end is to secure a good and sufficient life to the citizens ; but one man must be ruler in imperfect as well as in good forms of the state. If it is otherwise, not only is the end of civil life lost, but the city too ceases to be what it was. Lastly, if we take any one kingdom, of which the end is the same as that of a city, only with greater security for its tranquillity, there must be one king to rule and govern. For if this is not so, not only do his subjects miss their end, but the kingdom itself falls to destruction, according to that word of the infallible truth : " Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation." If then this holds good in these cases, and in each individual thing which is ordered to one certain end, what we have laid down is true.

Now it is plain that the whole human race is ordered to gain some end, as has been before shown. There must, therefore, be one to guide and govern, and the proper title for this office is Monarch or Emperor. And so it is plain that Monarchy or the Empire is necessary for the welfare of the world.

Wherever there is controversy, there ought to be judgment,

otherwise there would be imperfection without its proper remedy, which is impossible ; for God and Nature, in things necessary, do not fail in their provisions. But it is manifest that there may be controversy between any two princes, where the one is not subject to the other, either from the fault of themselves, or even of their subjects. Therefore between them there should be means of judgment. And since, when one is not subject to the other, he cannot be judged by the other (for there is no rule of equals over equals), there must be a third prince of wider jurisdiction, within the circle of whose laws both may come.

The strongest opponent of Justice is Appetite, as Aristotle intimates in the fifth book to Nicomachus. Remove Appetite altogether, and there remains nothing adverse to Justice ; and therefore it is the opinion of the Philosopher that nothing should be left to the judge, if it can be decided by law ; and this ought to be done for fear of Appetite, which easily perverts men's minds. Where, then, there is nothing to be wished for, there can be no Appetite, for the passions cannot exist if their objects are destroyed. But the Monarch has nothing to desire, for his jurisdiction is bounded only by the ocean ; and this is not the case with other princes, whose kingdoms are bounded by those of their neighbors ; as, for instance, the kingdom of Castile is bounded by the kingdom of Aragon. From which it follows that the Monarch is able to be the purest embodiment of Justice among men.

Again, the human race is ordered best when it is most free. . . . This liberty, or this principle of all our liberty, is the greatest gift bestowed by God on mankind ; by it alone we gain happiness as men ; by it alone we gain happiness elsewhere as gods. But if this is so, who will say that human kind is not in its best state when it can most use this principle ? But he who lives under a Monarchy is most free. Therefore let it be understood that he is free who exists not for another's sake but for his own, as the Philosopher, in his Treatise of simple Being, thought. For everything which exists for the sake of some other thing is necessitated by that other thing, as a road has to run to its ordained end. Men exist for themselves, and not at the pleasure of others, only if a Monarch rules ; for then only are the perverted forms of government set right, while democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies, drive mankind into slavery, as is obvious to any who goes about among them all ; and public power is in

the hands of kings and aristocracies, which they call the rule of the best, and champions of popular liberty. And because the Monarch loves his subjects much, as we have seen, he wishes all men to be good, which cannot be the case in perverted forms of government; therefore the Philosopher says, in his *Politics*: "In the bad state the good man is a bad citizen, but in a good state the two coincide." Good states in this way aim at liberty, that in them men may live for themselves. The citizens exist not for the good of consuls, nor the nation for the good of its king; but the consuls for the good of the citizens, and the king for the good of his nation. For as the laws are made to suit the state, and not the state to suit the laws, so those who live under the laws are not ordered for the legislator, but he for them; as also the Philosopher holds, in what he has left us on the present subject. Hence, too, it is clear that although the king or the consul rule over the other citizens in respect of the means of government, yet in respect of the end of government they are the servants of the citizens, and especially the Monarch, who, without doubt, must be held the servant of all. Thus it becomes clear that the Monarch is bound by the end appointed to himself in making his laws.

But it must be carefully observed that when we say that mankind may be ruled by one supreme prince, we do not mean that the most trifling judgments for each particular town are to proceed immediately from him. For municipal laws sometimes fail, and need guidance, as the Philosopher shows in his fifth book to Nicomachus, when he praises equity. For nations and kingdoms and states have, each of them, certain peculiarities which must be regulated by different laws. For law is the rule which directs life. Thus the Scythians need one rule, for they live beyond the seventh climate, and suffer cold which is almost unbearable, from the great inequality of their days and nights. But the Garamantes need a different law, for their country is equinoctial, and they cannot wear many clothes, from the excessive heat of the air, because the day is as long as the darkness of the night. But our meaning is that it is in those matters which are common to all men, that men should be ruled by one Monarch, and be governed by a rule common to them all, with a view to their peace. And the individual princes must receive this rule of life or law from him, just as the practical intellect receives its major premiss from the speculative intellect, under *which it places its own particular premiss*, and then draws its

particular conclusion, with a view to action. And it is not only possible for one man to act as we have described; it is necessary that it should proceed from one man only to avoid confusion in our first principles. Moses himself wrote in his law that he had acted thus. For he took the elders of the tribes of the children of Israel, and left to them the lesser judgments, reserving to himself such as were more important and wider in their scope; and the elders carried these wider ones to their tribes, according as they were applicable to each separate tribe.

Hence it is plain that whatever is good, is good for this reason, that it consists in unity. And because concord is a good thing in so far as it is concord, it is manifest that it consists in a certain unity, as its proper root, the nature of which will appear if we find the real nature of concord. Concord then is the uniform motion of many wills; and hence it appears that a unity of wills, by which is meant their uniform motion, is the root of concord, nay, concord itself. For as we should say that many clods of earth are concordant, because that they all gravitate together towards the centre; and that many flames are concordant because that they all ascend together towards the circumference, if they did this of their own free will, so we say that many men are in concord because that they are all moved together, as regards their willing, to one thing, which one thing is formally in their wills just as there is one quality formally in the clods of earth, that is gravity, and one in the flame of fire, that is lightness. For the force of willing is a certain power; but the quality of good which it apprehends is its form; which form, like as others, being one is multiplied in itself, according to the multiplication of the matters which receive it, as the soul, and numbers, and other forms which belong to what is compound.

To explain our assumption as we proposed, let us argue thus: All concord depends on unity which is in wills; the human race, when it is at its best, is a kind of concord; for as one man at his best is a kind of concord, and as the like is true of the family, the city, and the kingdom; so is it of the whole human race. Therefore the human race at its best depends on the unity which is in will. But this cannot be unless there be one will to be the single mistress and regulating influence of all the rest. For the wills of men, on account of the blandishments of youth, require one to direct them, as Aristotle shows in the tenth book of his *Ethics*. And this cannot be unless there is one prince over all, whose will shall be the mistress and regulating

influence of all the others. But if all these conclusions be true, as they are, it is necessary for the highest welfare of the human race that there should be a Monarch in the world; and therefore Monarchy is necessary for the good of the world.

"It has often happened that the thought and life of an historical period have been impersonated in some one man of genius, who has been its type and embodiment for later times. Thus — to take the best known cases — the speculative genius of Greece is summed up in Plato, and the scientific in Aristotle; the romance and passion of the Renaissance are mirrored in Shakespeare, the ideal side of Puritanism in Milton, and the eighteenth century in Goethe. There are only two examples where a single life has in this way taken in and reproduced an entire period or phase of civilization, so as to stand alone as its sufficient monument. As Homer represents to us the pre-historic age of Greece, and as his verse bears down to us the melody and splendor of a time which we are only beginning to see by glimpses from other directions — so in Dante we have a transcript or reflex, curiously complete, of the many phases of mediæval life, in a form at once ideal and intense. All the glow of its romance is behind the transparent veil he has woven about his own 'New Life.' All the ardor of its faith is seen in the visions of unutterable glory that crowd his 'Paradise.' All its subtleties of speculation are found in the arguments and comments of his 'Banquet.' The terrible or revolting realisms of its creed fill the thronged circles of his 'Hell.' Its whole scheme of redemption is displayed in the steep ascents of his 'Purgatory.' Its partisan passion, its capacities of pride, wrath and hate, come to a hot focus in some of his 'Epistles,' or are reflected in the incidents of his career. Its fond dream of universal sovereignty, its allied ideal Empire and Church, has its completest expression and defence in his treatise on the Divine right of 'Monarchy.' There is no other name in literary history which is, in anything like so large a sense, a representative name." — *Allen*.

"The voice of six silent centuries" Dante has been called by one, "the soul of the middle ages" by another. As the first great writer to use the language of the people, as in so much besides, he was the first great modern man. He stands at the parting of the ways, is the bond of union rather, between the old time and the new. Ruskin has said, "The central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral and intellectual faculties all at their highest, is Dante." "In all literary history there is no such figure as Dante," says our own Lowell. Tributes equally high from many thinkers equally great might be quoted to show the young people how important it will be for them to study Dante. It is especially as *the representative of his own century* that attention is here directed to him.

His mind took in all the interests of his time, and the historical references and relations of his works are so constant and varied that it has been well remarked that the whole history of the time becomes a commentary upon Dante and Dante a commentary upon the time.

The *Dante Handbook* by Scartazzini, translated, with additions, by Thomas Davidson, is the best general manual for the student; it contains a good life of Dante, accounts of his various works, and references to all the important illustrative books. The volume on Dante by Mrs. Oliphant, in the series of "Classics for English Readers," is simply written and quite within the comprehension of any of the young people who will be interested in the subject. Symonds's *Introduction to the Study of Dante* is an excellent work, and special attention is directed to the first chapter, on Early Italian History. Miss Rossetti's *The Shadow of Dante*, Miss Blow's work on Dante, and Botta's *Dante as Philosopher, Patriot and Poet*, are all valuable books; in the latter read especially the chapters on Dante's Patriotism and his Political System. Dean Church's little book on Dante, which is one of the best, contains a translation of the *De Monarchia* in the appendix. The notes to Longfellow's translation of the *Divine Comedy* and Norton's translation of the *New Life* are of much value. The various translations of the *Divine Comedy* and the *New Life* are well known. A translation of the *Convito*, by Sayer, has recently been published in England. Lowell's essay on Dante in *Among My Books*, 2d series, should be read by everybody; there is no better essay upon Dante. Lowell also wrote the article on Dante, embodying much from his essay, in the *American Encyclopædia*. The careful article on Dante in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is by Oscar Browning. The interesting essay on Dante by Joseph H. Allen, from which the passage quoted above is taken, is in his *Fragments of Christian History*, vol. ii. Carlyle's lecture on Dante, in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, is very eloquent and striking, notable as the first strong word upon Dante spoken by a modern Englishman. Macaulay's essay upon Dante should be noticed, and the words of Gladstone, who is a devoted student of Dante. All the great modern Italians have been ardent lovers of Dante, in whom they find the prophet of "New Italy." Read Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets* and other works touching Dante, Mazzini's interesting essay, and Hermann Grimm's essay on *Dante and the Recent Italian Struggle*, in the volume of his essays translated by Miss Adams. Read in connection Michael Angelo's two sonnets upon Dante. Milman's pages upon Dante, in his *Latin Christianity*, and Bryce's, in his *Holy Roman Empire*, are specially important as treating Dante's relations to the life and thought of the middle ages; the latter takes up particularly the *De Monarchia*.

Dante's *De Monarchia*, from which selections are printed in the present Leaflet, is one of the noblest and most noteworthy of the many works in which, from the time of Plato's *Republic* and Augustine's *City of God* to the

time of Campanella's *City of the Sun*, More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Harrington's *Oceana*, Kant's *Eternal Peace*, and Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, brave idealists have sketched a better social organization. There was nothing dreamy or romantic in Dante's work; it was one of the most serious and practical political tracts, in its purpose, ever written. The work is divided into three parts—the first intended to show that mankind must be politically united in order to realize its true destiny; the second, to demonstrate that it belongs to Italy to effect that union; the third, to assert the separation and independence of the State from the Church. The poet in our time dreams of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." Dante could think of the world's political unity only under the form of one great empire. But it is important to fix the mind on what is essential in Dante's scheme, not on what was local and accidental. German scholars have observed that it is in our own federal republic that Dante's conception finds its truest realization. The Italian Botta says: "It anticipates in some measure the plan adopted by Washington and his compeers in the Constitution of the United States, differing, however, in this, that while the American Republic extends to states geographically and ethnographically integrant parts of the same country, the Italian empire, as proposed by Dante, would have embraced all the world, and have placed Italy, in relation to other nations, as the sun to the planets, whose influence unites them in their harmonious movements, while it gives them free scope in their appointed orbits. . . . In advocating the union of mankind under the leadership of Italy, Dante did not intend to place other nations under her military despotism. The revival of the empire he contemplated was not that of the Asiatic monarchies, neither was it that of Charlemagne or Charles V. His plan, grand in its conception, resting on the basis of liberty, both national and individual, was derived, on the one hand, from ancient Rome, where the emperor was but a citizen charged with the high office of tribune, and with the defence of popular rights against the patricians; on the other, from the idea of modern governments founded on the political union of municipalities belonging to the same nation. Hence the idea of Dante did not necessarily involve monarchical institutions, as is commonly believed, but simply the concentration of social power into an individual or collective authority, which should exercise the common sovereignty for the good of the people. Admitting all forms of government, as circumstances might require, the plan of Dante was adapted to all nations, their different characters, traditions, and wants. It was essentially liberal and democratic."

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the life and times of Dante is 1289, the year of the battle of *Campanaldino*, in which Dante fought. This battle effected the overthrow of the

Ghibellines in Italy; the date is therefore serviceable for fixing in mind the period of the long conflict between the papal and imperial factions known as the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which began just a century and a half before. Dante was now entering upon active life; he was twenty-four years old, having been born in 1265. Dante returned from this battle, we read, "to his studies and his love." The year after the battle was the year of the death of Beatrice, whom Dante had first met sixteen years before, when both were in their ninth year. Dante's *Vita Nuova* is the story of his love for Beatrice. His *Convito* is a philosophic treatise. Dante was a profound student of philosophy, influenced chiefly by Aristotle (whom he always means when, as in the passages in the present Leaflet, he speaks of "the Philosopher" or "the Master") and Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas, the greatest of the schoolmen, died the year that Dante first met Beatrice; Albertus Magnus died six years later; Duns Scotus was probably born in the same year with Dante; and William of Occam, the last great schoolman, five years afterwards. With Dante's life it is thus easy to connect the whole later history of scholasticism, as it was easy to connect its earlier history with the life of Lanfranc. William of Occam was born the same year (1270) that St. Louis, the leader of the last Crusade, died before Tunis; the epoch of the Crusades was thus ending just as Dante's life began. It will be remembered that Prince Edward of England accompanied King Louis on the last Crusade. He returned to England in 1272, and succeeded his father the same year — as Edward I. The time of Edward I, as all the young people who have studied English history know, was the time of Wallace, Baliol and Bruce. It was by Edward that Wallace was put to death; but it was Edward's successor, Edward II, whom Bruce defeated at Bannockburn, in 1314. The famous battle of Morgarten, in Switzerland, the victory of the Swiss confederation over the Austrians, came the next year, 1315; the beginning of the Swiss confederation and the exploits of William Tell, if there were a William Tell, belong to the years just before this, the years when Dante in Italy was writing his *De Monarchia*. Rudolph of Hapsburg became emperor, "king of the Romans," when Dante was a boy. The very year of Dante's birth, 1265, was the year when the first real Parliament met in England, summoned by Simon de Montfort, who had won the victory of Lewes the previous year. It was in the year of Dante's birth that we know that the composition of gunpowder was known to Roger Bacon; it was invented a few years before Dante's birth, and the first cannon appeared a few years after his death. 1250 is the year to which the invention of gunpowder is usually assigned. The Sorbonne at Paris was founded the same year, and University College at Oxford, the oldest of the Oxford colleges, the year before, these two famous schools having thus just come into being as Dante was born. Marco Polo, the famous traveller, whose book about the East should by and by stimulate the Portuguese navigators to their voyages round

the Cape of Good Hope and also rouse the passion for discovery in the breast of Columbus, was a contemporary of Dante and an Italian like himself; he was born at Venice a few years before Dante was born and died two years after Dante died, and he was writing the account of his travels, immured in a dungeon at Genoa, while Dante was in the midst of the stormy politics of Florence. The early years of Dante's life were the last years of the life of the celebrated Persian poet, Saadi; Saadi was once taken prisoner by the Crusaders near Jerusalem. Giotto, the great Italian painter, was the personal friend of Dante, and, as many of the young people know, painted his portrait; which has been preserved for us in a fresco, long hidden, on the wall of the palace of the Podesta at Florence. Cimabue, Giotto's master and the first celebrated name in the history of Italian painting, was also Dante's contemporary, painting his famous pictures for the churches of Florence while Dante was a young man in the city. This gives us a date for our studies of early Italian art. In our studies of Italian literature we can similarly remember that Petrarch and Boccaccio, who wrote a life of Dante, were both born before Dante died, the former approaching manhood, the latter being but a child, in the year of Dante's death, 1321. Wyclif, who will be the central figure in our study of the 14th century, was born three years after the death of Dante.

Old South Leaflets.

The Sermon on the Mount.

WYCLIF'S TRANSLATION.

MATTHEW. — CHAP. V.

ANd Jhesus seyng the peple, went up into an hil; and whanne he was sett, his disciplis camen to him. And he openyde his mouthe, and taughte hem; and seide, Blessid be pore men in spirit; for the kyngdom of hevenes is herun. Blessid ben mylde men: for thei schulen weelde the erthe. Blessid ben thei that mournen: for thei schal be coumfortid. Blessid be thei that hungren and thirsten rigtwisnesse: for thei schal be fulfilled. Blessid ben merciful men: for thei schul gete mercy. Blessid ben thei that ben of clene herte: for thei schulen se god. Blessid ben pesible men: for thei schulen be clepid goddis children. Blessid ben thei that suffren persecucioun for rigtwisnesse: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern. Ye schul be blessid whanne men schul curse you, and schul pursue you: and schul seye al yvel agens you liynge for me. Joie ye and be ye glade: for your meede is plenteous in hevenes: for so thei han pursued also prophetis that weren bifore you. Ye ben salt of the erthe, that if the salt vanishe away wherynne schal it be saltid? to nothing it is worth over, no but it be cast out, and be defoulid of men. Ye ben light of the world, a citee sett on an hill may not be hid. Ne me teen-dith not a lanterne and puttith it undir a bushel: but on a candilstik that it give light to alle that ben in the hous. So, schyne your light before men, that thei see youre gode workis, and glorifie your fadir that is in hevenes. Nyle ghe deme that I cam to undo the Lawe or the prophetis, I cam not to undo the lawe but to fuffille. Forsothe I sey to you till hevене and erthe passe, oon lettre, or oon title, schal not passe fro the Lawe til alle thingis be don. Therefore he that brekith oon of these leeste maundementis, and techith thus men, schal be clepid the

Leest in the rewme of hevenes : but he that doth, and techith, schal be clepid greet in the kyngdom of hevenes. And I seye to you that but your rigtwisnesse be more plentuous thanne of Scribis and Farisees, ye schul not entre in to the kyngdom of hevenes. Ye han herd that it was seide to olde men : thou schalt not sle, and he that sleeth, schal be gilty to doom. But I seye to you that ech man that is wroth to his brothir schal be gilty to doom, and he that seith to his brother, fugh, schal be gilty to the counsell ; but he that seith, fool, schal be gilty into the fire of helle. Therfore if thou offrist thi gifte at the auter, & there thou bithenkist that thi brother hath somewhat agens thee, leve there thi gifte bfore the auter, and go first to be recounseilid to thi brothir, and thanne thou schalt come and schalt offre thi gifte. Be thou consenting to thin adversarie soone, while thou art in the weye with him, lest peraventure thin adversarie take thee to the domesman, and the domesman take thee to the mynistre, and thou be sent in to prisoun. Truly I sey to thee thou schalt not go out fro thennes till thou yelde the laste ferthing. Ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not do leecherie. But I seye to you that every man that seeth a womman to coveyte hir hath now do leecherie bi hir in his herte. That if thi right yghe schlaundre thee, pull it out, and caste fro thee ; for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris peresche, than that al thi bodi go in to helle. And if thi right hond schlaundre thee kitte him away and caste fro thee, for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris perische, than that al thi bodi go in to helle. And it hath ben seid, whoevver leveth his wyf, give he to hir a libel of forsaking. But I seye to you that every man that leveth his wyf, out teke cause of fornicacioun makith hir to do leecherie, and he that weddith the forsaken wyf doth avowtrie. Eftsoone ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not forswere but thou schalt yeld thin othis to the lord. But I seye to you, that ye swere not for any thing, neither bi hevene for it is the trone of god. Neither bi erthe, for it is the stool of his feet ; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the citee of a greet kyng. Neither thou schalt swere bi thin heed, for thou maist not make oon heer whyt ne black. But be your word ghe ghe, nay nay, and that, that is more than these is of yvel. ghe han herd that it hath be seid yghe for yghe, and toth for toth. But I seye to you that ye aghenstonde not an yvel man, but if ony smyte thee in the right cheke, schewe to him also the oother. And to him that stryve with thee in doom, and take away thi coate, leve thou

also to Him thi mantel. And whoever constreynith thee a thousand pacis: go thou with him other tweyne. Give thou to him that axith of the, and turne thou not away fro him that wole borowe of thee. ghe han herd that it was seid thou schalt love thi neighbore, and hate thin enemy. But I seye to you, Love ye your enemyes, do ye wel to hem that haten you, and prie ye for hem that pursuen and slaundren you. That ye be the sones of your fadir that is in hevenes, that makith his sunne to rise upon gode, and yvel men, and reyneth on just men and unjust. For if ye loven him that loven you, what meede shulen ye have? whether puppicans don not this? And if ghe greeten youre bretheren oonly, what schulen ye do more? ne don not hethene men this? Therefor be ye parfit, as your heavenly fadir is parfit.

CHAP. VI.

T Akith heed that ye do not your rigtwisnesse bfore men, to be seyn of hem; ellis ye schul have no meede at your fadir that is in hevenes. Therefore whanne thou doist almes, nyle thou trumpe bfore thee as ypocrites don in synagogis and stretis, that thei be worschipid of men; sothely I sey to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou doist almes, knowe not thei left hond what thi right hond doith. That thin almes be in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal quyte thee. And whanne ye preyen, ye schulen not be as ypocrites that loven to preye stondynge in synagogis, and corneris of streetis, to be seyn of men, treuly I sey to yow thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou schalt prie, entre into thi couche, and whanne the dore is schitt, prie thi fadir in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis, schal yelde to thee. But in priyng nyle ye speke myche, as hethene men don for thei gessen that thei ben herd in her myche speche. Therefore nyle ye be maad lyk to hem for your fadir woot what is nede to you, bfore that ye axen him. And thus ye schulen pryve. Our fadir that art in hevenys; halewid be thi name. Thi kyngdom come to, be thi wil done in erthe as in hevene. Give to us this day oure breed ovir othir Substaunce. And forgive to us our dettis as we forgiven to oure dettouris. And lede us not into temptacioun: but delyvere us from yvel amen. For if ye forgiven to men her synnes, your heavenly fadir schal forgive to you your trespassis. Sothely if ye forgiven not to men, nether your fadir schal forgive you youre synnes. But whanne ye

fasten nyle be ye maad as ypocritis sorowful, for thei defasen hem silf to seme fastynge to men, treuly I seye to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou fastist anynte thin heed, and waische thi face: That thou be not seen fastynge to men, but to thi fadir that is in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal yelde to thee. Nyle ye tresoure to you tresouris in erthe were rust and mought distryeth, and where thefes delven out and stelen. But gadir ye to you tresouris in hevene, where neither rust ne mought distrieth and where thefis deluen not out; ne stelen. For where thi tresour is, there also thin hert is. The lanterne of thi bodi is thin iye, if thin iye be symple, al thi bodi schal be ligthful. But if thin yghe be weyward al thi bodi schal be derk. if thanne the light that is in thee be derknessis, how grete schul thilke derknessis be? No man may serve twey Lordis for either he schal hate the toon and love the tother: either he schal susteyne the toon, and despise the tother: ye moun not serve god and richesse. Therefor I sey to you that be ye not besy to youre lyf, what ye schul ete neither to your bodi, with what ye schul be clothid. whether lyf is not more than mete, and the body more than the cloth? Biholde ye the foulis of the eir, for thei sowen not, neither repen, neither gaderen in to bernes, and your fadir of hevene feedith hem. whether ye ben not more worthi than thei? But who of you thenkyng, may putte to his stature o cubit? And of clothing what ben you bisy? biholde ye the lilies of the feeld hou thei wexen, thei traveilen not neither spynnen. And I sey to you that Salomon in al his glorie was not kevered as oon of these. And if god clothith thus the hey of the feeld, that to dey is, and to morowe is cast in to an ovne, hou myche more you of lital feith? Therfore nyle ye be bisy seiynge, what schul we ete, or what schul we drynk, or with what thing schul we be kevered? Forsothe hethene men seken alle these thingis, and your fadir wot that ye han nede to alle these thingis. Therfore seke ye first the kyngdom of god and his rigtwisnesse: and alle these thingis schul be cast to you. Therfore nyle ye be bisy in to the morrowe for the morrowe schal be bisy to him self; for it suffisith to the daie his owne malice.

CHAP. VII.

NYle ye deme that ghe be not demed. For in what doom ye demen: ye schulen be demed, and in what mesure ye meten: it schal be meten agen to you. But what seest thou a

litol mote in the yghe of thi brothir, and seest not a beam in thin owne yghe? Or hou seist thou to thi brother, brother suffre, I schal do out a mote fro thin yghe, and lo a beam is in thin owne yghe? Ypocrite do out first the beam of thin yghe, and thanne thou schalt se to do out the mote of the yghe of thi brother. Nile ye gyve hooly thing to houndis, neither caste ye youre margaritis bifore swyn, lest peraventure thei defoule hem with her feet, and the houndis ben turned, and al to tere you. Axe ye and it schal be gyven to you; seke yee, and yee schulen fynde: knocke ye: and it schal be openid to you. For ech that axith, takith, and he that sekith, fyndith: and it schal be opened to him that knockith. What man of you is, that if his sone axe him breed: whether he wole take him a stoon? Or if he axe fish, whether he wole give him an Eddre? Therefore if ye, whanne ye ben yvel men, kunnen give gode giftis to youre sones: how myche more your fadir that is in hevenes schal give goode thingis to men that axen him? Therefore alle thingis, whatever thingis ye wolen that men do to you, do ye to hem; for this is the Lawe, and the prophetis. Entre ye bi the streit gate, for the gate that ledith to perdicioun is large, and the wey is brood, and thei ben many that entren bi it: Hou streit is the gate and the wey narrowe that ledith to lyf, and ther ben fewe that fynden it. Be ye war of false prophetis, that comen to you in clothingis of scheep, but withynne forth thei ben as Wolves of raveyne. Of her fruytis ye schulen knowe hem; whether men gadren grapis of thornes or figis of brieris? So every good tre makith gode fruytis; but an yvel tree makith yvel fruytis. A good tree may not make yvel fruytis; neither an yvel tree may make gode fruytis. Every tree that makith not good fruyt, schal be kitt doun, and schal be cast in to the fire. Therefore of her fruytis ye schul knowe hem. Not ech man that seith to me, Lord, Lord, schal entre into the kyngdom of hevenes, but he that doth the wille of my fadir that is in hevenes, he schal enter into the kyngdom of hevenes. Many schul sey to me in that dei Lord, Lord, whether we have not prophecied in thi name, and han cast out Feendis in thi name, and han do manie vertues in thi name? And thanne I schal knowleche to hem, that I knewe you never, departe away fro me ye that worcken wickidnesse. Therefore ech man that heerith these my wordis, and doth hem; schal be maad lyk to a wise man that hath bildid his hous on a stoon: And reyn feldown, and flodis camen, and wyndis blew, and ruschiden into that hous & it felde not down, for it was foundid

on a stoon. And every man that herith these my wordis, and doith hem not: is lyk to a fool that hath bildid his hous on gravel. And reyn cam doun, and flodis camen, and wyndis blewen: and thei hurliden agen that hous and it felde doun, and the fallyng doun thereof was greet. And it was don whanne Jhesus had endid these wordis: the puple wondride on his teachynge. For he taughte hem as he that hadde power: and not as the scribis of hem, and Farisees.

WYCLIF ON THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

As the faith of the Church is contained in the Scriptures, the more these are known in their true meaning, the better; and inasmuch as secular men should assuredly understand the faith they profess, that faith *should be taught to them in whatever language it may be best known to them*. Forasmuch also as the doctrines of our faith are more clearly and exactly expressed in the Scriptures, than they may probably be by priests; seeing, if I may so speak, that many Prelates are too ignorant of Holy Scripture, while others conceal many parts of it; and as the verbal instruction of priests have many other defects, the conclusion is abundantly manifest, that believers should ascertain for themselves what are the true matters of their faith, *by having the Scriptures in a language which all may understand*.

WYCLIF ON PREACHING.

The highest service to which man may attain on earth is to preach the law of God. This duty falls peculiarly to priests, in order that they may produce children of God, and this is the end for which God has wedded the Church. And for this cause Jesus Christ left other works, and occupied himself mostly in preaching, and thus did the Apostles, and on this account God loved them. But now priests are found in taverns and hunting; and playing at their tables, instead of learning God's law and preaching.

Prayer is good, but not so good as preaching; and accordingly, in preaching and also in praying, in the administering of the Sacraments, and the learning of God's law, and the rendering of a good example by purity of life, in these should stand *the life of a good priest*.

WYCLIF ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

We are not careful to explain how it has come to pass, but manifest it is that the Church has erred in this matter; and we claim accordingly to be exempt from its authority in this respect, *and to be left to the guidance of reason and Scripture.*

WYCLIF ON ABSOLUTION AND INDULGENCES.

There is no greater heresy for a man than to believe that he is absolved from sin if he give money, or because a priest layeth his hand on his head and saith, "I absolve thee;" *for thou must be sorrowful in thy heart, else God does not absolve thee.*

It is plain to me that our Prelates in granting indulgences do commonly blaspheme the wisdom of God, pretending in their avarice and folly that they understand what they really know not. They chatter on the subject of grace as if it were a thing to be bought and sold like an ass or an ox; by so doing they learn to make a merchandise of selling pardons, the devil having availed himself of an error in the schools to introduce after this manner heresies in morals.

WYCLIF ON THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT.

I appeal to the Church of the first thousand years since our Lord's time. I challenge the existing Church to dispute these questions with me. My adversaries reply that the Church has settled the matter, and have, in fact, condemned me beforehand. I cannot expect at their hands anything else than to be silenced, and what is more, according to a new Ordinance, imprisoned. I know what that means. I demand, therefore, that the lay voice be heard. I have appealed to the King against the University; I now appeal to the King and Parliament against the Synod which is about to use the secular arm — the arm of Parliament. If I am to be tried, let me have a fair trial, and argue my case before the world. If that is not to be, I will at least have care that Parliament shall understand the ecclesiastical points at issue, and the use that is to be made of its power.

That very thing is a mark of the corruption of the Church; but the laity are responsible for its purity. They only conserve the endowments and institutions of the clergy under the condition of that purity. And it has now become a personal matter for them; it affects their lives and fortunes. If they see their way to clearing off some of its most open corruptions, the Eng-

lish people, who have by this time the Bible in their hands, will speedily perceive that I am now no heretic, but the truest Churchman in the land.

"In the ende the truth will conquer."— *Wyclif*.

"If the stiff-necked obstinacy of our prelates had not obstructed Wyclif's sublime and exalted spirit, the names of the Bohemians, Huss and Hieronymus, and even of Luther and Calvin, would at this day have been buried in obscurity, and the glory of having reformed our neighbors would have been ours alone."— *Milton*.

"There is in the University Library of Prague a magnificent old Bohemian Cantionale written in the year 1572, and adorned with a number of finely illuminated miniatures. One of the most characteristic of these little works of art stands above a hymn in memory of John Hus, the Reformer. It consists of three medallions rising one above another, in the first of which John Wiclif, the Englishman, is represented striking sparks out of a stone; in the second, Hus, the Bohemian, is setting fire to the coals; while in the third, Luther, the German, is bearing the fierce light of a blazing torch. The trilogy of these miniatures is a fine illustration of the Divine mission of the three great Reformers. John Wiclif, the Englishman, is the true, original spirit, the bringer of a new light, another Prometheus in the realm of spiritual things. Modern research at least testifies in a singular manner to the truth of the miniature, and is bringing about a great change of opinion. Quite recently it has been shown by a German writer that the whole Bohemian movement of the fifteenth century was simply an imitation of the movement that had stirred England— and more particularly Oxford— under the influence of John Wiclif thirty years before. It has been proved conclusively that, as far as doctrine is concerned, Hus borrowed nearly all his reforming ideas from the strong-minded Yorkshireman. In the works of the Oxford professor a rich fountain of new thought had been opened to him, by means of which he became the national and religious leader of a great people, the martyr of a great cause. The whole Husite movement is mere Wiclifism. It should never be forgotten, at least by Englishmen, that those mighty ideas had an Englishman for their parent. Wiclif was the first who, at a period of general helplessness, when the Church, lost in worldliness, was unable to satisfy the spiritual and national aspirations of her adherents, gave utterance to new ideas which seemed fully to replace the fading traditional forms of life and thought; and who thus made England to become the glorious leader of

the greatest spiritual movement of modern times. He it was who first dared to face the system of corruption and tyranny which had overspread all Europe, who first showed in his own person how much could be done against a whole world of foes by one single-hearted man, who had made himself the champion of truth. England owes to him her Bible, her present language, the reformation of the Church, her religious and, to a very large degree, her political liberty. With Chaucer, Shakspeare, and Milton he is one of the makers of the English language, and his influence in English religious life is unparalleled by any later man. He must be pronounced to be the first, and by far the greatest, Reformer preceding the sixteenth century. He was one of the greatest men England has ever produced, a religious genius whose vestiges are to be found not only in the history of his own country, but in the spiritual history of mankind. Modern research proves that the Reformation neither of Germany, nor of England, nor of Bohemia, was a sudden outburst, but that its origin must be traced back into the past, and from no one can it with greater truth be said to have emanated than from John Wiclif the Englishman. In the spirit of this wonderful man Protestantism arose. By the greatness of his soul, the depth of his religious and national feeling, and the keenness of his intellect, he had become the leader of his people. When in England, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the new power of a national and religious awakening was struggling into existence, it was in Wiclif that it found its truest personification. Of him therefore in a singular manner is true what has been said of Luther, that 'he held the mind and the spirit of his countrymen in his hand, and seemed to be the hero in whom his nation had become incarnate.'"

— *Buddensieg.*

Thomas Fuller, in his old *Church History of Britain* (1655), describes the scattering of Wyclif's ashes, by the decree of the council of Constance — the same council which decreed the martyrdom of Huss — in quaint words which have become famous. The emissaries of the Church, he says, telling the story of their coming to Lutterworth churchyard, "take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighboring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispensed all the world over."

The words of Milton, quoted above, do not assert too strongly Wyclif's preëminent, original influence in the work of the Reformation. The passages given from Wyclif's own writings show how distinctly he anticipated Luther's doctrines and methods. He condemned as warmly as Luther the abuses of the doctrine of indulgence, which had become almost as gross in England in his time as under Tetzel in Germany a hundred and fifty years later; he

exposed as tirelessly the corruptions of the clergy and the prevailing superstitions and traditionalism; he urged the importance of preaching above all ritualism; he gave the people the Bible in their own language; he emphasized the right and duty of private judgment; he taught the supremacy of the civil power; he trusted the people. That the whole Hussite movement was mere Wyclifism, as Buddensieg asserts, is abundantly shown in the learned and thorough work on *Wiclif and Hus* by Dr. Johann Loserth, translated by Rev. M. J. Evans. Consult the useful note by the translator of this work on the spelling of Wyclif's name—which we find in various places in as many forms as are possible: Wiclif, Wyclif, Wicklif, Wycklif, Wicliffe, Wycliffe, Wickliffe, Wyckliffe, etc.

The best lives of Wyclif are those by Vaughan and the German Lechler. The earliest important life was by Lewis. There are good brief biographies by Pennington, Wilson and others. The admirable work by Professor Montagu Burrows, on *Wiclif's Place in History*, discusses in three lectures the history and present state of the Wyclif literature, Wyclif's relation to Oxford, and his true place as a reformer. The histories of Oxford by Lyte and Brodrick contain valuable chapters on Wyclif's life at the University. Green's chapter on Wyclif, in his history of England, is very interesting. See also the lecture on Wyclif in Herrick's *Some Heretics of Yesterday*. Rudolph Buddensieg's little book, *John Wiclif, Patriot and Reformer*, contains a brief biographical sketch and an interesting selection of passages from Wyclif's writings. Three volumes of the *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Thomas Arnold, were issued by the Clarendon Press in 1869. More of his works have been published since, and many still remain in MS. at Vienna and elsewhere. Those published consist largely of sermons and theological and political pamphlets.

Wyclif's interest in political and social reform was scarcely less than his interest in religious reform. His denunciations of oppression were so severe and his democratic sympathies so outspoken that he was charged with being the intellectual author of the movement which culminated in the revolt of the peasantry under Wat Tyler a few years before his death. There is some ground for this, although Wyclif himself, like Luther, was a non-resistant. The essay on Wyclif by Thorold Rogers, in his *Historical Gleanings*, is interesting for its discussion of this general subject and its picture of the social condition of England in Wyclif's time. The essay by Edwin De Lisle, *Wyclif begat Henry George*, is worth reading in the connection. More important is the essay on Wyclif's Doctrine of Lordship, in R. L. Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*. Lordship or the right to rule, according to Wyclif, was conditioned upon the disposition to rule well. "Dominion is founded in grace," was his word. The ungracious ruler forfeited his rights; only the benevolent king had valid claim to dominion. Similarly he held concerning property, that the right to property

was conditioned on its righteous use; the rich man is God's steward, and his rights as steward revert if he does not use his riches for the common weal.

It is interesting to remember that Chaucer was Wyclif's contemporary. He pictures as powerfully as does Wyclif himself the corruptions in the Church against which Wyclif rose to do battle. Many have believed that Chaucer was a Wyclifite and that the picture of the Parson, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, if not indeed a portrait of Wyclif himself, is one of the company of "Poor Priests" that Wyclif organized to preach "God's Law" through England. The young people should read this description of the good Parson in Chaucer. The careful student will read the essay, *Chaucer a Wyclifite*, by H. Simon, in the collection of *Essays on Chaucer* published by the Chaucer Society, part iii. "By the side of the repulsive characters of the friars and clergy and their officials," says Mr. Simon, "the Parson of the Prologue appears like a bright figure of sublime beauty. Nobody, perhaps, has read this delicate yet pithy picture without emotion; hundreds of times the Parson has been quoted as the ideal of Christian charity and humility, evangelical piety, unselfish resignation to the high calling of a pastor. It cannot be that Chaucer unintentionally produced this bright image with so dark a background. Involuntarily it occurs to us, as to former critics, that a Wyclifite, perhaps the great reformer himself, sat for the picture; and the more we look at it, the more striking becomes the likeness. This observation is not new; to say nothing of English critics, Pauli says that the likeness of the Parson has decidedly Lollardish traces, and Lechler expressly declares it to be Wycliffe's portrait, though he says, at the same time, that it is not only doubtful but improbable that Chaucer should have sympathized with, or really appreciated, Wycliffe's great ideas of and efforts for reform. Both scholars, however, principally refer to the description in the General Prologue; but the Parson is mentioned also in the Shipman's prologue and in that to the Parson's Tale; and it is exactly in the latter two that we find the most striking proofs of his unquestionably Wyclifite character."

Wyclif's translation of the Bible was the first general or important English translation. The young people are asked to compare the portion printed in this Leaflet (Matthew, chaps. v, vi, vii) with the same in the common version. Tyndall's translation of the New Testament appeared in 1526; Coverdale's version of the whole Bible in 1535; Matthew's Bible in 1537; the Great Bible, usually called Cranmer's, in 1539; the Geneva Bible in 1557; the Bishops' Bible in 1568; the Douay Bible in 1610; the King James version in 1610.

Wyclif, the great pioneer of the Reformation, died on the last day of the year 1384, which is the fourteenth century date that the young people are asked to remember. The year of his birth, according to Leland, was

1324, just four hundred years before the birth of Kant (b. 1724), the great pioneer of modern thought. William of Wykeham was born in the same year as Wyclif. Chaucer was born a few years later, 1340, and died in 1400, the year that Guttenberg, the inventor of printing, was born. The year of Chaucer's birth was the year before Petrarch was crowned with the laurel wreath in the Capitol at Rome. Rienzi, "the last of the tribunes," was a personal friend of Petrarch, who supported him when he became tribune, in 1347. This was the year after Edward III and the Black Prince won the battle of Crecy, and just after Wyclif had begun his Oxford life. It will be remembered that Edward instituted the Order of the Garter soon after the battle of Crecy. The battle of Agincourt came thirty years after Wyclif's death, in the same year, 1415, that Huss, the great preacher of Wyclif's doctrines in Bohemia, was burnt at Constance. Jerome of Prague suffered the next year after Huss — both Jerome and Huss having been born in Wyclif's lifetime. Thomas à Kempis was born four years before Wyclif died. Tauler, the German mystic, died while Wyclif was teaching at Oxford. Wyclif's lifetime was the time of Jacob and Philip van Artevelde at Ghent, the time when the universities of Prague and Cracow were founded, when the Kremlin was founded at Moscow and the Bastile at Paris, the time of the terrible plague, the "Black Death," in Europe, the time of the first appearance of Halley's comet, the time of Douglas and Percy (Hotspur) and of Timur (Tamerlane), the time of the rising of the peasantry (the *Jacquerie*) in France. The revolt of the English peasantry under Wat the Tyler and Jack Straw occurred three years before Wyclif's death. Arnold of Winkelried fell at Sempach two years after Wyclif's death; and Joan of Arc was born about the time that Wyclif's remains, thirty years after his death, were dug up, burnt and thrown into the Swift. When Joan was burnt at Rouen, we are near the time of the birth of Columbus.

Old South Leaflets.

Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers.

FROM HUMBOLDT'S *Cosmos*.

The age of Columbus, Gama, and Magellan—the age of great maritime enterprises—coincided in a most wonderful manner with many great events, with the awakening of a feeling of religious freedom, with the development of nobler sentiments for art, and with the diffusion of the Copernican views regarding the system of the universe. Nicolaus Copernicus (who, in two letters still extant, calls himself Koppernik) had already attained his twentieth year, and was engaged in making observations with the astronomer Albert Brudzewski, at Cracow, when Columbus discovered America. Hardly a year after the death of the great discoverer, and after a six years' residence at Padua, Bologna, and Rome, we find him returned to Cracow, and busily engaged in bringing about a thorough revolution in the astronomical views of the universe. By the favor of his uncle, Lucas Waisselrode of Allen, Bishop of Ermland, he was nominated, in 1510, canon of Frauenburg, where he labored for thirty-three years on the completion of his work, entitled *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cælestium*. The first printed copy was brought to him when, shattered in mind and body, he was preparing himself for death. He saw it and touched it, but his thoughts were no longer fixed on earthly things, and he died—not, as Gassendi says, a few hours, but several days afterward (on the 24th of May, 1543). Two years earlier an important part of his theory had been made known by the publication of a letter of one of his most zealous pupils and adherents, Joachim Rhæticus, to Johann Schoner, professor at Nuremberg. It was not, however, the propagation of the Copernican doctrines, the renewed opinion of the existence of one central sun, and of the diurnal and annual movement of the earth, which somewhat more than half a century after its first promulgation led to the brilliant astronomical discoveries that characterize the commencement of the seventeenth century; for these discoveries were the result of the accidental invention of the telescope, and were the means of at once perfecting and extending the doc-

trine of Copernicus. Confirmed and extended by the results of physical astronomy (by the discovery of the satellite-system of Jupiter and the phases of Venus), the fundamental views of Copernicus have indicated to theoretical astronomy paths which could not fail to lead to sure results, and to the solution of problems which of necessity demanded and led to a greater degree of perfection in the analytic calculus. While George Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (Johann Müller, of Königsberg, in Franconia) exercised a beneficial influence on Copernicus and his pupils, Rhæticus, Reinhold and Möstlin, these, in their turn, influenced in a like manner, although at longer intervals of time, the works of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. These are the ideal links which connect the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and we can not delineate the extended astronomical views of the latter of these epochs without taking into consideration the incitements yielded to it by the former.

An erroneous opinion unfortunately prevails, even in the present day, that Copernicus, from timidity and from apprehension of priestly persecution, advanced his views regarding the planetary movement of the earth and the position of the sun in the center of the planetary system, as mere hypotheses, which fulfilled the object of submitting the orbits of the heavenly bodies more conveniently to calculation, "but which need not necessarily either be true or even probable." These singular words certainly do occur in the anonymous preface¹

¹ "Neque enim necesse est, eas hypotheses esse veras, imo ne verisimiles quidem, sed sufficit hoc unum, si calculum observationibus congruentem exhibeant," says the preface of Osiander. "The Bishop of Culm, Tidemann Giese, a native of Dantzic, who had for years urged Copernicus to publish his work, at last received the manuscript, with the permission of having it printed fully in accordance with his own free pleasure. He sent it first to Rhæticus, professor at Wittenberg, who had, until recently, been living for a long time with his teacher at Frauenburg. Rhæticus considered Nuremberg as the most suitable place for its publication, and intrusted the superintendence of the printing to Professor Schoner and to Andreas Osiander." (Gassendi, *Vita Copernici*, p. 319.) The expressions of praise pronounced on the work at the close of the preface might be sufficient to show, without the express testimony of Gassendi, that the preface was by another hand. Osiander has used an expression on the title of the first edition (that of Nuremberg, 1543) which is always carefully avoided in all the writings of Copernicus, "motus stellarum novis insuper ac admirabilibus hypothesibus ornati," together with the very ungentle addition, "Igitur studiose lector, eme, lege, frue." In the second Basle edition of 1566, which I have very carefully compared with the first Nuremberg edition, there is no longer any reference in the title of the book to the "admirable hypothesis;" but Osiander's *Præfatiuncula de Hypothesibus hujus Operis*, as Gassendi calls the intercalated preface, is preserved. That Osiander, without naming himself, meant to show that the *Præfatiuncula* was by a different hand from the work itself, appears very evident from the circumstance of his designating the dedication to Paul III as the *Præfatio*

attached to the work of Copernicus, and inscribed *De Hypothesibus hujus Operis*, but they are quite contrary to the opinions expressed by Copernicus and in direct contradiction with his dedication to Pope Paul III. The author of these prefatory remarks was, as Gassendi most expressly says in his *Life of the great astronomer*, a mathematician then living at Nuremberg, and named Andreas Osiander, who, together with Schoner, superintended the printing of the work *De Revolutionibus*, and who, although he makes no express declaration of any religious scruples, appears nevertheless to have thought it expedient to speak of the new views as of an hypothesis, and not, like Copernicus, as of demonstrated truth.

The founder of our present system of the universe (for to him incontestably belong the most important parts of it, and the grandest features of the design) was almost more distinguished, if possible, by the intrepidity and confidence with which he expressed his opinions, than for the knowledge to which they owed their origin. He deserves to a high degree the fine eulogium passed upon him by Kepler, who, in the introduction to the Rudolphine Tables, says of him, "*Vir fuit maximo ingenio et quod in hoc exercitio (combating prejudices) magni momenti est, animo liber.*" When Copernicus is describing, in his dedication to the pope, the origin of his work, he does not scruple to term the opinion generally expressed among theologians of the immobility and central position of the earth "an absurd acroama," and to attack the stupidity of those who adhere to so erroneous a doctrine. "If even," he writes, "any empty-headed babblers (*ματαιωλόγοι*), ignorant of all mathematical science, should take upon themselves to pronounce judgment on his work through an intentional distortion of any passage in the Holy Scriptures (*propter aliquem locum scripturæ male ad suum propositum detortum*), he should despise so presumptuous an attack. It was, indeed, universally known that the celebrated Lactantius, who, however, could not be reckoned among mathematicians, had spoken childishly (*pueriliter*) of the form of the earth, deriding those who held it to be spherical. On mathematical subjects one should write only to mathematicians. In order to show that, deeply penetrated with the truth of his own deductions, he had no cause to fear the judg-

Authoris. The first edition has only 196 leaves; the second 213, on account of the *Narratio Prima* of the astronomer, George Joachim Rhæticus, and a letter addressed to Schoner, which was printed in 1541 by the intervention of the mathematician, Gassarus of Basle, and gave to the learned world the first accurate knowledge of the Copernican system. Rhæticus had resigned his professional chair at Wittenberg in order that he might enjoy the instructions of Copernicus at Frauenburg itself.

ment that might be passed upon him, he turned his prayers from a remote corner of the earth to the head of the Church, begging that he would protect him from the assaults of calumny, since the Church itself would derive advantage from his investigations on the length of the year and the movements of the moon." Astrology and improvements in the calendar long procured protection for astronomy from the secular and ecclesiastical powers, as chemistry and botany were long esteemed as purely subservient auxiliaries to the science of medicine.

The strong and free expressions employed by Copernicus sufficiently refute the old opinion that he advanced the system which bears his immortal name as an hypothesis convenient for making astronomical calculations, and one which might be devoid of foundation. "By no other arrangement," he exclaims with enthusiasm, "have I been able to find so admirable a symmetry of the universe, and so harmonious a connection of orbits, as by placing the lamp of the world (*lucernam mundi*), the sun, in the midst of the beautiful temple of nature as on a kingly throne, ruling the whole family of circling stars that revolve around him (*circumagentem gubernans astrorum familiam*)."¹ Even the idea of universal gravitation or attraction (*appetentia quædam naturalis partibus indita*) toward the sun as the center of the world (*centrum mundi*), and which is inferred from the force of gravity in spherical bodies, seems to have hovered before the mind of this great man, as is proved by a remarkable passage in the 9th chapter of the 1st book *De Revolutionibus*.

On considering the different stages of the development of cosmical contemplation, we are able to trace from the earliest ages faint indications and presentiments of the attraction of masses and of centrifugal forces. Jacobi, in his researches on the mathematical knowledge of the Greeks (unfortunately still in manuscript), justly comments on "the profound consideration of nature evinced by Anaxagoras, in whom we read with astonishment a passage asserting that the moon, if its centrifugal force ceased, would fall to the earth like a stone from a sling."¹

I have already, when speaking of ærolites, noticed similar expressions of the Clazomenian and of Diogenes of Apollonia

¹ Compare, also, Aristot., *De Cælo*, ii, 1, p. 284, a. 24, Bekker, and a remarkable passage of Simplicius, p. 491, b., in the *Scholæ*, according to the edition of the Berlin Academy, where the "non-falling of heavenly bodies" is noticed "when the rotary force predominates over the actual falling force or downward attraction." With these ideas, which also partially belong to Empedocles and Democritus, as well as to Anaxagoras, may be connected the instance adduced by Simplicius "that water in a vial is not spilled when the movement of rotation is more rapid than the downward movement of the water."

on the "cessation of the rotary force." Plato truly had a clearer idea than Aristotle of the *attractive force* exercised by the earth's center on all heavy masses removed from it, for the Stagirite was indeed acquainted, like Hipparchus, with the acceleration of falling bodies, although he did not correctly understand the cause. In Plato, and according to Democritus, *attraction* is limited to bodies having an affinity for one another, or in other words, to those in which there exists a tendency of the *homogeneous* elementary substances to combine together.¹ John Philoponus, the Alexandrian, a pupil of Ammonius, the son of Hermias, who probably lived in the sixth century, was the first who ascribed the movement of the heavenly bodies to a primitive impulse, connecting with this idea that of the fall of bodies, or the tendency of all substances, whether heavy or light, to reach the ground. The idea conceived by Copernicus, and more clearly expressed by Kepler in his admirable work, *De Stella Martis*, who even applied it to the ebb and flow of the ocean, received in 1666 and 1674 a new impulse and a more extended application through the sagacity of the ingenious Robert Hooke;² Newton's theory of gravitation, which followed these earlier advances, presented the grand means of converting the whole of physical astronomy into a true *mechanism of the heavens*.

Copernicus, as we find not only from his dedication to the pope, but also from several passages in the work itself, had a tolerable knowledge of the ideas entertained by the ancients of the structure of the universe. He, however, only names in the period anterior to Hipparchus, Hicetas (or, as he always calls him, Nicetas) of Syracuse, Philolaüs, the Pythagorean, the Timæus of Plato, Ecphantus, Heraclides of Pontus, and the great geometrician, Apollonius of Perga. Of the two mathematicians, Aristarchus of Samos and Seleucus of Babylon, whose systems came most nearly to his own, he mentions only the first, making no reference to the second.³ It has often been

¹ See, regarding all that relates to the ideas of the ancients on attraction, gravity, and the fall of bodies, the passages collected with great industry and discrimination, by Th. Henri Martin, *Etudes sur le Timée de Platon*, 1841, t. ii, pp. 272-280, and 341.

² He subsequently relinquished the correct opinion (Brewster, *Martyrs of Science*, 1846, p. 211); but the opinion that there dwells in the central body of the planetary system—the sun—a power which governs the movements of the planets, and that this solar force decreases either as the squares of the distance, or in direct ratio, was expressed by Kepler in the *Harmonices Mundi*, completed in 1618.

³ Everywhere Copernicus shows a predilection for, and a very accurate acquaintance with, the views of the Pythagoreans, or, to speak less definitely, with those which were attributed to the most ancient among them.

asserted that he was not acquainted with the views of Aristarchus of Samos regarding the central sun and the condition of the earth as a planet, because the *Arenarius*, and all the other works of Archimedes, appeared only one year after his death, and a whole century after the invention of the art of printing; but it is forgotten that Copernicus, in his dedication to Pope Paul III, quotes a long passage on Philolaüs, Ecphantus, and Heraclides of Pontus, from Plutarch's work on *The Opinions of Philosophers* (III, 13), and therefore that he might have read in the same work (II, 24) that Aristarchus of Samos regards the sun as one of the fixed stars. Among all the opinions of the ancients, those which appeared to exercise the greatest influence on the direction and gradual development of the ideas of Copernicus are expressed, according to Gassendi, in a passage in the encyclopædic work of Martianus Mineus Capella, written in a half-barbarous language, and in the *System of the World* of Apollonius of Perga. According to the opinions described by Martianus Mineus of Madaura, and which have been very confidently ascribed, sometimes to the Egyptians and sometimes to the Chaldeans, the earth is immovably fixed in a central point, while the sun revolves around it as a circling planet, attended by two satellites, Mercury and Venus. Such a view of the structure of the world might, indeed, prepare the way for that of the central force of the sun. There is, however, nothing in the *Almagest*, or in the works of the ancients generally, or

Thus, for instance, he was acquainted, as may be seen by the beginning of the dedication, with the letter of Lysis to Hipparchus, which, indeed, shows that the Italian school, in its love of mystery, intended only to communicate its opinions to friends, "as had also at first been the purpose of Copernicus." The age in which Lysis lived is somewhat uncertain; he is sometimes spoken of as an immediate disciple of Pythagoras himself; sometimes, and with more probability, as a teacher of Epaminondas (Böckh, *Philolaos*, s. 8-15). The letter of Lysis to Hipparchus, an old Pythagorean, who had disclosed the secrets of the sect, is, like many similar writings, a forgery of later times. It had probably become known to Copernicus from the collection of Aldus Manutius, *Epistola diversorum Philosophorum* (Romæ, 1494), or from a Latin translation by Cardinal Bessarion (Venet., 1516). In the prohibition of Copernicus's work, *De Revolutionibus*, in the famous decree of the *Congregazione dell' Indice* of the 5th of March, 1616, the new system of the universe is expressly designated as "falsa illa doctrina Pythagorica, Divinæ Scripturæ omnino adversans." The important passage on Aristarchus of Samos, of which I have spoken in the text, occurs in the *Arenarius*, p. 449 of the Paris edition of Archimedes of 1615, by David Rivaltus. The editio princeps is the Basle edition of 1544, apud Jo. Hervagium. The passage in the *Arenarius* says, very distinctly, that "Aristarchus had confuted the astronomers who supposed the earth to be immovable in the center of the universe. The sun, which constituted this center, was immovable like the other stars, while the earth revolved round the sun." In the work of Copernicus, Aristarchus is twice named, without any reference being made to his system.

in the work of Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*, which justifies the assertion so confidently maintained by Gassendi, of the perfect resemblance existing between the system of Tycho Brahe and that which has been ascribed to Apollonius of Perga. After Böckh's complete investigation, nothing further need be said of the confusion of the Copernican system with that of the Pythagorean, Philolaüs, according to which, the non-rotating earth (the Antichthon or opposite earth, being not in itself a planet, but merely the opposite hemisphere of our planet) moves like the sun itself round the focus of the world—the central fire, or vital flame of the whole planetary system.

The scientific revolution originated by Nicolaus Copernicus has had the rare fortune (setting aside the temporary retrograde movement imparted by the hypothesis of Tycho Brahe) of advancing without interruption to its object—the discovery of the true structure of the universe. The rich abundance of accurate observations furnished by Tycho Brahe himself, the zealous opponent of the Copernican system, laid the foundation for the discovery of those eternal laws of the planetary movements which prepared imperishable renown for the name of Kepler, and which, interpreted by Newton, and proved to be theoretically and necessarily true, have been transferred into the bright and glorious domain of thought, as *the intellectual recognition of nature*. It has been ingeniously said, although, perhaps, with too feeble an estimate of the free and independent spirit which created the theory of gravitation, that "Kepler wrote a code of laws, and Newton the spirit of those laws."¹

The figurative and poetical myths of the Pythagorean and Platonic pictures of the universe, changeable as the fancy from which they emanated,² may still be traced partially reflected in Kepler; but while they warmed and cheered his often saddened spirit, they never turned him aside from his earnest course, the goal of which he reached in the memorable night of the 15th of May, 1618, twelve years before his death. Copernicus had furnished a satisfactory explanation of the apparent revolution of the heaven of the fixed stars by the diurnal

¹In the *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii, p. 282, Whewell, in his Inductive Table of Astronomy, has given an exceedingly good and complete view of the astronomical contemplation of the structure of the universe, from the earliest ages to Newton's system of gravitation.

²Plato, in the *Phædrus*, adopts the system of Philolaüs, but in the *Timæus* that according to which the earth is immovable in the center, and which was subsequently called the Hipparchian or the Ptolemaic. The astronomical vision, in which the structure of the universe is shrouded, at the end of the *Book of the Republic*, reminds us at once of the intercalated spherical systems of the planets, and of the concord of tones, "the voices of the Syrens moving in concert with the revolving spheres."

rotation of the earth round its axis; and by its annual movement round the sun he had afforded an equally perfect solution of the most striking movements of the planets (their stationary conditions and their retrogressions), and thus given the true reason of the so-called *second inequality of the planets*. The *first inequality*, or the unequal movement of the planets in their orbits, he left unexplained. True to the ancient Pythagorean principle of the perfectibility inherent in circular movements, Copernicus thought that he required for his structure of the universe some of the *epicycles* of Apollonius of Perga, besides the *eccentric* circles having a vacuum in their center. However bold was the path adventured on, the human mind could not at once emancipate itself from all earlier views.

The equal distance at which the stars remained, while the whole vault of heaven seemed to move from east to west, had led to the idea of a firmament and a solid crystal sphere, in which Anaximenes (who was probably not much later than Pythagoras) had conjectured that the stars were riveted like nails. Germinius of Rhodes, the contemporary of Cicero, doubted whether the constellations lay in one uniform plane, being of opinion that some were higher and others lower than the rest. The idea formed of the heaven of the fixed stars was extended to the planets, and thus arose the theory of the eccentric intercalated spheres of Eudoxus and Menæchmus, and of Aristotle, who was the inventor of *retrograde* spheres. The theory of epicycles—a construction which adapted itself most readily to the representation and calculation of the planetary movements—was, a century afterward, made by the acute mind of Apollonius to supersede solid spheres. However much I may incline to mere ideal abstraction, I here refrain from attempting to decide historically whether, as Ideler believes, it was not until after the establishment of the Alexandrian Museum that “a free movement of the planets in space was regarded as possible,” or whether, before that period, the intercalated transparent spheres (of which there were twenty-seven according to Eudoxus, and fifty-five according to Aristotle), as well as the epicycles which passed from Hipparchus and Ptolemy to the Middle Ages, were regarded generally not as solid bodies of material thickness, but merely as ideal abstractions. It is more certain that in the middle of the sixteenth century, when the theory of the seventy-seven homocentric spheres of the learned writer, Girolamo Fracastoro, found general approval, and when, at a later period, the opponents of Copernicus sought all means of upholding the Ptolemaic system, the idea of the existence of *solid* spheres, circles and epicycles, which was especially favored by the Fathers of the Church, was still

very widely diffused. Tycho Brahe expressly boasts that his considerations on the orbits of comets first proved the impossibility of solid spheres, and thus destroyed the artificial fabrics. He filled the free space of heaven with air, and even believed that the resisting medium, when disturbed by the revolving heavenly bodies, might generate tones. The unimaginative Rothmann believed it necessary to refute this renewed Pythagorean myth of celestial harmony.

Kepler's great discovery that all the planets move round the sun in ellipses, and that the sun lies in one of the foci of these ellipses, at length freed the original Copernican system from eccentric circles and all epicycles. The planetary structure of the world now appeared objectively, and as it were architecturally, in its simple grandeur; but it remained for Isaac Newton to disclose the play and connection of the internal forces which animate and preserve the system of the universe. We have often remarked, in the history of the gradual development of human knowledge, that important but apparently accidental discoveries, and the simultaneous appearance of many great minds, are crowded together in a short period of time; and we find this phenomenon most strikingly manifested in the first ten years of the seventeenth century; for Tycho Brahe (the founder of modern astronomical calculations), Kepler, Galileo, and Lord Bacon, were contemporaries. All these, with the exception of Tycho Brahe, were enabled, in the prime of life, to benefit by the labors of Descartes and Fermat. The elements of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* appeared in the English language in 1605, fifteen years before the *Novum Organon*. The invention of the telescope,¹ and the

¹ The accidental discovery of the power of the telescope to penetrate through space originated in Holland, probably in the closing part of the year 1608. From the most recent investigations it would appear that this great discovery may be claimed by Hans Lippershey, a native of Wesel and a spectacle maker at Middleburg; by Jacob Adriaansz, surnamed Metius, who is said also to have made burning glasses of ice; and by Zacharias Jansen. The first named is always called Laprey in the important letter of the Dutch ambassador Boreel to the physician Borelli, the author of the treatise *De vero telescopii inventore* (1655). If the claim of priority be determined by the periods at which offers were made to the General States, the honor belongs to Hans Lippershey; for, on the 2d of October, 1608, he offered to the government three instruments "by which one might see objects at a distance." The offer of Metius was made on the 17th of October of the same year; but he expressly says "that he has already, for two years, constructed similar instruments, through industry and thought." Zacharias Jansen (who, like Lippershey, was a spectacle maker at Middleburg) invented, in conjunction with his father, Hans Jansen, toward the end of the sixteenth century, and probably after 1590, the compound microscope, the eye-piece of which is a concave lens; but, as we learn from the ambassador Boreel, it was not until 1610 that he discovered the telescope, which

greatest discoveries in physical astronomy (viz., Jupiter's satellites, the sun's spots, the phases of Venus, and the remarkable form of Saturn), fall between the years 1609 and 1612. Kepler's speculations on the elliptic orbit of Mars were begun in 1601, and gave occasion, eight years after, to the completion of the work entitled *Astronomia nova seu Physica celestis*. "By the study of the orbit of Mars," writes Kepler, "we must either arrive at a knowledge of the secrets of astronomy, or forever remain ignorant of them. I have succeeded, by untiring and continued labor, in subjecting the inequalities of the movement of Mars to a natural law." The generalization of the same idea led the highly gifted mind of Kepler to the great cosmical truths and presentiments which, ten years later, he published in his work entitled *Harmonices Mundi libri quinque*. "I believe," he well observes in a letter to the Danish astronomer Longomontanus, "that astronomy and physics are so intimately associated together that neither can be perfected without the other." The results of his researches on the structure of the eye and the theory of vision appeared in 1604 in the *Paralipomena ad Vitellionem*, and in 1611 in the *Dioptrica*. Thus were the knowledge of the most important objects in the perceptive world and in the regions of space, and the mode of apprehending these objects by means of new discoveries, alike rapidly increased in the short period of the first ten or twelve years of a century which began with Galileo and Kepler, and closed with Newton and Leibnitz.

The passage from Humboldt here given will make plain what is often not well understood—that many of the Greek philosophers and astronomers held theories much closer to the theory of Copernicus than was the theory of Ptolemy, which was universally accepted when Copernicus was born and which his system superseded. As in the works of the astronomers of the century after Copernicus, so in passages of Copernicus's own writings

he and his friends directed to distant terrestrial, but not toward celestial, objects. When, in May, 1609, the news of the discovery made in Holland of telescopic vision reached Venice, Galileo, who was accidentally there, conjectured at once what must be the essential points in the construction of a telescope, and immediately completed one for himself at Padua. This instrument he first directed toward the mountainous parts of the moon, and showed how their summits might be measured, while he, like Leonardo da Vinci and Möstlin, ascribed the ash-colored light of the moon to the reflection of solar light from the earth to the moon. He observed with low magnifying powers the group of the Pleiades, the starry cluster in Cancer, the Milky Way, and the group of stars in the head of Orion. Then followed, in quick succession, the great discoveries of the four satellites of Jupiter, the two handles of Saturn (his indistinctly-seen rings, the form of which was not recognized), the solar spots, and crescent shape of Venus.

we find evidences of long acquaintance with the grēat Greek authors, poets as well as philosophers; and we know that it was through a comparative study of the various astronomical systems of the ancients that Copernicus evolved his own system. Read the article on Astronomy, by Richard A. Proctor, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, especially the sections on the Astronomy of the Greeks and Astronomy in the School of Alexandria. The more thorough student will also consult Zeller's *History of Greek Philosophy*. There is no good English work on Copernicus. In Poole's Index the student will find references to a few magazine articles; and in the collection of *Papers* by Rev. Charles H. Bringham is one on Copernicus, dwelling chiefly upon the influences of his theory on theology. "Who was this wonderful man?" says Mr. Bringham. "Few of the great men of the world are as little known as he in personal life; and the vague impressions which most men have of his spirit and character are far from correct. Many suppose that he was a bold adversary of priests and the Church. That he was not; he was an officer of the Church himself, and never denied the faith. Some imagine that, like Galileo, he was persecuted for his opinions and suffered reproach and loss and pain. Not so; he was honored by the Church, and no anathema was upon his name. He is classed carelessly with Luther and the Reformers; but Luther and the Reformers ridiculed, despised and hated him. Copernicus was a grand man, a noble man, and a prophet too; but he was not a martyr, not a combatant, not a man called to fight or to die for his faith. His life was pleasant and prosperous, and his death was tranquil. He escaped the fate which came upon his followers and disciples." Mr. Bringham gives a brief biographical sketch of Copernicus, and also notices his obligation to the Greeks.

Columbus discovered America in 1492—that date the young people will not forget. In 1492 Copernicus was in his twentieth year; he had just entered the university of Cracow and was engaged in making his first astronomical observations. In 1492 Lorenzo de' Medici, the greatest patron of the arts and sciences in the time of the Renaissance, died, attended on his death-bed by Savonarola, now in the height of favor, but to become a martyr only six years afterwards. Savonarola was just forty years old in 1492, born in 1452, the same year with Leonardo da Vinci; this was the year before Constantinople was taken by Mahomet II and the Eastern Empire came to an end—an event so important for many reasons that "modern history" is often treated as beginning at this point. Luther and Raphael were nine years old in 1492, both born in 1483, and so just ten years younger than Copernicus. Following are the names of some other famous men who were living in the year that Columbus discovered America and young Copernicus at the university was making his first astronomical observations: Erasmus (born 1467), Machiavelli (b. 1469), Wolsey (b. 1470), Albert Dürer (b. 1470), Chevalier Bayard (b. 1473), Ariosto (b. 1474).

Michael Angelo (b. 1475), Titian (b. 1477), Sir Thomas More (b. 1480), Zwingli (b. 1484), Andrea del Sarto (b. 1488), Hugh Latimer (b. 1500). Titian, the great Venetian painter, lived almost exactly a century, ninety-nine years (1477 - 1576). The young people will find it useful and interesting to tabulat  the many important events which occurred in the world during his long lifetime, and the great men who were his contemporaries. Almost the whole history of Italian art can be easily fixed in the mind with reference to Titian's century; and his life covered, with reference to America, a period extending from the time when Columbus was thinking his first thoughts of land to westward to the time when Saint Augustine in Florida was eleven years old. 1492 was in the bloom of the great age of the Renaissance, the eve of the Reformation. The young people should see Kaulbach's celebrated picture of the Age of the Reformation, engravings of which can easily be found, and note the significant way in which the painter has grouped the great men of this era. It was an age of discovery. Prince Henry, the bold Portuguese navigator, had done his work and died while Columbus was yet a youth. Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope five years after Columbus discovered America, the same year that the Cabots first reached the mainland of America. In 1492 Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, was king of England; he had overthrown Richard III at Bosworth, finally ending the Wars of the Roses, seven years before. It was the time, of course, of Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain; Granada was taken by Ferdinand in this very year, 1492, and the Moorish dominion in Spain thus came to an end. These were the most terrible days of the Inquisition in Spain, Torquemada having been appointed inquisitor-general nine years before, the very year of Luther's birth. Printing was invented about fifty years before America was discovered. The first printed books appeared while Columbus was a boy; and William Caxton, the first English printer, who set up his printing-press at Westminster in 1476, died just before Columbus sailed. Columbus died in 1506. Before that, Charles V, the emperor before whom Luther was to appear at Worms, was born. Before Copernicus died, in 1543, the great work of the Reformation was for the most part done, Luther himself dying three years after Copernicus; the order of the Jesuits had been founded by Loyola; Henry VIII had well-nigh run his course as king of England; Magellan's ship arrived in Spain from the first voyage round the world; and from America had come the news of the doings of Cortez and Pizarro and of the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto.

Old South Leaflets.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

FROM CAMDEN'S *Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1615).

Now are we come to the Year of *Christ* One thousand five hundred eighty and eight, which an Astronomer of *Königsberg*, above an hundred years before, foretold would be an *Admirable Year*, and the German Chronologers prefaged would be the *Climacterical Year of the World*. The Rumours of Wars, which before were but slight and small, began now to grow greater daily and greater : and now the Reports were no longer uncertain, but the universall and unanimous Belief of all men carried it for certain Truth, that a most invincible Armada was rigged and prepared in *Spain* against *England*, and that the famousst Captains and expertest Leaders and old Souldiers were sent for out of *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea and out of *America*, into *Spain*.

And now will I give a brief Account, out of the most credible Relations as well of the *Spaniards* as of our own Countrymen, what was done every day in this Expedition, that the Truth may the more plainly appear.

On the 16. day there was a great Calm, and a thick Fog till Noon : then the North-east-Wind blew very strongly, and presently after the West-Wind, till Midnight, and then the East-south-east-Wind ; insomuch as the Spanish Fleet being disperfed thereby was hardly gathered together again till it came within Sight of *England* on the 19. day. Upon which day the Lord Admirall of *England*, being certainly informed by *Flemming*, the Captain of a Pinnace, that the Spanish Fleet was entered into the British Sea, (which the Seamen ordinarily call *the Channell*,) and was seen near the Point called *the Lizard*, towed the English Fleet forth into the main Sea, not without great Difficulty, the

Wind blowing stiffly into the Haven, but indeed with singular Diligence and Industry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encouraged at their Halber-work, assisting them and the common Souldiers in the doing of it in person.

The next day the *English* discovered the Spanish Fleet with lofty Turrets like Castles, in Front like an Half-moon, the Wings thereof spreading out about the length of seven Miles, sailing very slowly, though with full Sails, the Winds being as it were tired with carrying them, and the Ocean groaning under the Weight of them; which they willingly suffered to pass by, that they might chafe them in the Rere with a fore-right Wind.

On the 21. of *July* the Lord Admirall of *England*, sending a Pinnace before called the *Defiance*, denounced War by discharging her Ordnance; and presently his own Ship, called the *Ark-royall*, thundered thick and furiously upon the Admirall (as he thought) of the *Spaniards*, (but it was *Alphonso de Leva's* Ship.) Soon after *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbisher* played stoutly with their Ordnance upon the hindmost Squadron, which was commanded by *Recalde*, who laboured all he could to stay his men from flying to the main Fleet, till such time as his own Ship being much battered with Shot, and now grown unserviceable, he was fain himself with much adoe to retreat thither also. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gathered together his Fleet which was scattered this way and that way, and, hoisting more Sail, held on his Course with what speed he could. Neither could he doe any other, seeing both the Wind favoured the *English*, and their Ships would turn about with incredible Celerity and Nimbleness which way soever they pleased, to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintained a smart Fight for the space of two Hours, when the Lord Admirall thought not good to continue it any longer, because 40 of his Ships were not yet come in, being scarce got out of the Haven.

The next Night following the *Saint Catherine*, a Spanish Ship, having been much torn and battered in the Fight, was taken into the midst of the Fleet to be repaired. And an huge Ship of *Biscay*, which was *Oquenda's*, wherein was the King's Treasurer, began to flame all of a light Fire, by means of the Gun-powder, which was fired on purpose by a Netherland Gunner who had been misused by them. Yet was the Fire soon quenched by Ships sent in to help her: amongst which the Gallion of Don *Pedro de Valdez*, falling foul of another Ship, brake



her Fore-maft or Borefpnit, and being left behind, ſince no man (the Sea being tempeſtuous and the Night dark) could come to reſcue her, fell into *Drake's* Hands as good Prize; who ſent *Valdez* to *Dartmouth*, and left the Money to be rifled by his men. *Drake* was commanded to carry a Lantern that night, but neglected it, having five great Hulks in Chace belonging to ſome Merchants of *Germany*, whom he thought to be Enemies: by means whereof he cauſed almoſt the whole English Fleet to lie ſtill, in regard the Night-light was no-where to be ſeen. Neither did he and the reſt of the Fleet till towards Night the next day recover Sight of the Lord Admirall, who all the Night before, with two Ships, the *Bear* and the *Mary-roſe*, followed the Spaniſh Fleet. All this day the Duke was employed undiſturbed in ſetting his Fleet in Order. *Alphonſo de Leva* he ordered to joyn the firſt and the laſt Squadron together: to every Ship he assigned his Station to ride in, according to the Form reſolved on in *Spain*, upon pain of Death to thoſe that ſhould abandon their Station: *Glich*, an Enſign, he ſent to the Prince of *Parma*, to tell him in what Condition he was: and the aforeſaid *Biſcain* Ship of *Oquenda's* he turned looſe to the Waves, having firſt ſhipped the King's Money and the men into other Ships. Which Ship fell the ſame day into the Engliſh-mens Hands, with about 50 Mariners and Souldiers pitifully maimed and half burnt, and was brought into the Haven of *Weymouth*.

On the 23. day of the month, betimes in the morning, the *Spaniards*, taking the Opportunity of a Northerly Wind, tacked about againſt the *English*, who for their Advantage ſoon turned aſide towards the Weſt. And after they had for ſome time ſtriven to get the Wind one of another, they prepared themſelves on both ſides to fight; and fight they did confuſedly and with variable Fortune, whiſt on the one ſide the *English* manfully reſcued ſome Ships of *London* that were hemmed in by the *Spaniards*; and on the other ſide the *Spaniards* as ſtoutly reſcued *Recalde* when he was in Danger. Never was there heard greater Thundering of Ordnance on both ſides; notwithſtanding which the *Spaniards* Shot flew for the moſt part over the *English* without Harm doing; onely *Cock* an Engliſh-man died with Hopour in the miſt of the Enemies in a ſmall Ship of his. For the Engliſh Ships, being far leſſer then theirs, charged the Enemy with wonderfull Agility and Nimbleneſs, and having given their Broad-ſides, preſently ſtood off at a diſtance from

them, and levelled their Shot directly without missing at those great Ships of the *Spaniards*, which were heavy and altogether unwieldy. Neither did the Lord Admirall think good to adventure Grappling with them, as some unadvisedly perswaded him. For the Enemy had a strong Army in his Fleet, but he had none: their Ships were far more for number, of bigger Burthen, stronger, and higher built; so as their men fighting from those lofty Hatches, must inevitably destroy those who should charge them from beneath. And he foresaw that an Overthrow in that case would endamage him much more then a Victory would advantage him. For if he were vanquished, he should very much endanger all *England*; and if he were Conquerour, he should onely gain a little Honour for overthrowing the Fleet, and beating the Enemy. On the 24. day of the month they forbore fighting on both sides. The Lord Admirall sent some of his smaller Ships to the next Coasts of *England*, to fetch Powder and other Provision for Fight; and divided the whole Fleet into four Squadrons: whereof the first he commanded himself, the second he committed to *Drake*, the third to *Hawkins*, and the fourth to *Forbisher*; and appointed out of every Squadron certain small Vessels to give the Onset and attack the Enemy on all sides at once in the dead of the Night: but being becalmed, his Design took not Effect.

On the 25. which was Saint *James* his day, the *Saint Anne*, a Galleon of *Portugal*, which could not keep up with the rest, was set upon by some small English Ships; to whose Rescue came *Leva* and Don *Diego Telles Enriques* with three Galleasses: whom the Lord Admiral himself, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, towing their Ships with their Boats, (so great was the Calm,) charged so furiously with their Ordnance, that much adoe they had, but not without Loss, to free the Galleon; and from that time no Galleasses would venture to engage. The *Spaniards* report, "That the *English* at the same time battered "the Spanish Admiral then in the Rere of the Fleet with their "great Ordnance, coming up closer to her then before, and, "having slain many of her men, shot down her main Mast: but "*Mexia* and *Recalde* in good time beat the *English* off. That "then the Spanish Admiral, assisted by *Recalde* and others, set "upon the English Admiral; and that the English Admiral escaped by means of the Wind turning. That the *Spaniards* "from that time gave over the Pursuit, and, holding on their



"Course, dispatched a fresh Messenger to *Parma*, desiring him "to joyn his Fleet as soon as possible with the King's Armada, "and withall to send some great Shot for the Spanish Fleet." These things were unknown to the *English*, who write, "That "from one of the Spanish Ships they rent the Lantern, and from "another the Beakhead, and did much Hurt to the third. That "the *Non-Parile* and the *Mary-rose* fought awhile with the *Span-* " *iards*: and that other Ships rescued the *Triumph* which was "in Danger." Thus as to the Account and Particulars of the Engagements they who were present at them do not report the same thing, whilst on both Sides every man relates what he himself observed.

The next day the Lord Admiral Knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*, for their Valour. And it was resolved, from thenceforth to fall upon the Enemy no more till they came to the British Frith or Streight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry Seimour* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their Coming. So with a fair *Etesian* Gale (which in our Skie bloweth for the most part from the South-west and by South clear and fair) the Spanish Fleet sailed forward, the English Fleet following it close at the Heels. But so far was it from terrifying the Sea-coasts with its Name of *Invincible*, or with its dreadful Show, that the young Gentry of *England* with incredible Chearfulness and Alacrity, (leaving their Parents, Wives, Children, Cousins, and Friends at Home,) out of their hearty Love to their Country, hired Ships from all Parts at their own private Charges, and joyned with the Fleet in great numbers: amongst others the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecyl*, *Henry Brooke*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality.

On the twenty-seventh day of this Month towards Night the *Spaniards* came to an Anchour before *Calice*, having Notice by their Pilots, that if they proceeded any farther, it was to be feared they might be driven by force of the Tide into the Northern Ocean. Near unto them also rode at Anchour the Lord Admiral with his Ships, within Cannon shot of them; with whom *Seimour* and *Winter* joyned their Squadrons. And now were there in the English Fleet 140 Sail, all of them Ships fit for Fight, good Sailers, and nimble and tight for tacking about

which way they would : yet were there not above fifteen of them which did in a manner sustain and repell the whole Brunt of the Fight. The *Spaniards* forthwith, as they had done many times before, urged the Duke of *Parma* by Messengers dispatched one after another to send 40 Fly-boats, that is, light Vessels, without which he could not well fight with the *English*, by reason of the Over-greatness and Sluggishness of the Spanish Ships, and the notable Agility of the *English* : they also earnestly prayed him to put to Sea with his Army, which the Spanish Fleet would protect, as it were under her Wings, (for so it had been resolved,) till it were landed in *England*. But he, being not yet ready, could not come at their Call ; his flat-bottomed Boats for the shallow Channels leaked, his Provision of Victuals was not yet gotten, and his Mariners, who had been kept together hitherto against their Wills, had many of them withdrawn themselves and sunk away. There lay watching also at the Mouth of the Havens of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, from whence he was to put forth to Sea, the Men of War of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, so strongly provided of great Ordnance and Musketers, that he could not put from Shoar, unless he would wilfully thrust himself and his upon imminent and certain Destruction. And yet he (being an expert and industrious Souldier) seemed to omit nothing that lay in his Power, through the ardent Desire he had to the Conquest of *England*.

But Queen *Elizabeth's* prudent Foresight prevented both his Diligence, and the credulous Hope of the *Spaniards* : for by her Command, the next day after the *Spaniards* had cast Anchour, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, besmeared them with Wild-fire, Pitch and Rosin, and filled them with Brimstone and other combustible matter, and sent them down the Winde in the dead of the Night, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowse*, amongst the Spanish Fleet. Which when the *Spaniards* espied approaching towards them, the whole Sea glittering and shining with the Flame thereof, supposing that those Fire-ships, besides the Danger of the Fire, were also provided of deadly Engines and murdering Inventions, they raised a loud Outcry, weighed Anchour, cut their Cables, and in a terrible Panick Fear with great Haste and Confusion put to Sea. One of their Fleet, being a great Galleasse, having broken her Rudder, floated up and down, and the next day in great Fear making towards *Calice*, ran upon the Sands, and was after a

smart and for a long while dubious Fight taken by *Amias Prefson*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvy*, Don *Hugo de Moncada*, the Captain of it, being first slain, and the Souldiërs and Rowers either drowned or put to the Sword. A great quantity of Gold which she had on board was pillaged by the *English*: The Ship and Ordnance fell to the Governour of *Calice*.

The *Spaniards* report that the Duke, when those Fire-ships approached, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh Anchour and stand to Sea; yet so as, having avoided the Danger, every Ship should return to his former Station. And indeed he returned himself, giving a Sign to the rest to doe the like, by discharging a great Piece; which notwithstanding was heard but by a few, because they were so scattered all about and driven for Fear, some of them into the wide Ocean, and some upon the Shallows of *Flanders*.

In the mean time *Drake* and *Fenner* played fiercely with their Ordnance upon the Spanish Fleet as it was gathering together again over against *Graveling*; with whom presently after joyned *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeston*, *Crofs*, *Riman*, and soon after the Lord Admirall himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde*, and the rest, with much adoe got clear of the Shallows, and endured the Charge as well as they could, infomuch as most of their Ships were very much shattered and shot through and through. The Galleon *Saint Matthew*, under the Command of Don *Diego Piemontelli*, coming to assist Don *Francisco de Toledo* in the *St. Philip*, which was soar battered with many great Shot by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven near *Ostend*, and again shot through and through by the *Zelanders*, and taken by the *Flushingers*, was likewise herself taken, and the whole Spanish Fleet grievously distressed and put to it all the day long.

On the last day of the Month betimes in the morning, the West-north-west Winde blew hard, and the Spanish Fleet endeavouring to recover the narrow Streight, was forced toward *Zeland*. The *English* gave over the Chace, because (as the *Spaniards* think) they saw them carried so fast to their Ruine: for the West-north-west Winde blowing, they could not but run upon the Sands and Shallows near *Zeland*. But the Winde turning presently into the South-west and by West, they failed before the Winde, and being got clear of the Shallows, in the Evening they held a Council what to doe: and it was unan-

mouſly reſolved to return into *Spain* by the Northern Ocean, in regard they wanted many Neceſſaries, eſpecially great Shot, their Ships werẽ torn and ſhattered, and no Hope there was that the Prince of *Parma* could bring out his Fleet to joyn with them.

Wherefore having now recovered into the main Ocean, they ſteered their Courſe Northward, the Engliſh Fleet having them in Chace; againſt which now and then they turned and made Head. And whereas moſt men thought they would tack about again and come back, the Queen with a maſculine Spirit came and took a View of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*, and riding about through the Ranks of Armed men drawn up on both ſides her, with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, ſometimes with a martiall Pace, another while gently like a Woman, incredible it is how much ſhe encouraged the Hearts of her Captains and Souldiers by her Prefence and Speech to them.

The ſame day that the laſt Fight was the Prince of *Parma*, after he had made his Prayers to our *Lady of Hall*, came ſome-what late to *Dunkerk*, where he was welcomed with opprobrious and reproachfull Speeches by the *Spaniards*, as if in Favour of Queen *Elizabeth* he had loſt them ſo fair an Opportunity of doing noble Exploits. The Duke, to give them ſome kind of Satisfaction, puniſhed the Purveyours of Viſtuals; laughing meanwhile in his Sleeve at the Infolency and Boaſtings of the *Spaniards*, whom he had heard vapouring, that whither-ſoever they turned themſelves they carried aſſured Victory along with them; and that the *Engliſh* would not once dare to look them in the Face. And verily Don *Bernardine de Mendoza* fooliſhly and with ridiculous Falſity printed a Poem in *France* containing a Triumph before the Victory. Howbeit, that *Parma* might not come forth from *Dunkerk*, the Lord Admirall commanded the Lord *Henry Seimour* and the *Hollanders* to have a ſtriẽt Eye upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, while he himſelf chafed the *Spaniards* till they were gone paſt *Edenborough Frith* in *Scotland*, anciently called *Bodotria*. For ſome there were that feared they would have Recourſe to the King of *Scots*, who was already exaſperated for his Mother's Death. Certainly *Aſhby*, the Queen's Embaſſadour in *Scotland*, to pacifie his Mind, this Moneth made him large offers, to wit, the Title of a Duke in *England*, a yearly Penſion of 5000 Pounds, a Guard to be maintained at the Queen's Charge, and ſome other matters; whether of his own Head, or by Command of others, I cannot tell, nor

do I lift to be curious in examining: but upon him the Blame fell, and the Offers were never made good to him.

But the *Spaniards* having now thrown off all Design and Hope of coming back again, and placing their whole Safety in their Flight, made no Stay any-where. And thus this great Armada, which had been three complete Years in rigging and preparing with infinite Expence, was within one Moneth's space many times fought with, and at the last overthrown, with the Slaughter of many men, not an hundred of the *English* being missing, nor any Ship lost, save onely that small one of *Cock's*: (for all the Shot from the tall Spanish Ships flew quite over the *English*;) and after it had been driven round about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, grievously tossed, and very much distressed, impaired and mangled by Storms and Wrecks, and endured all manner of Miseries, at length returned Home with Shame and Dishonour. Whereupon severall Moneys were coined, some in Memory of the Victory, with a Fleet flying with full Sails, and this Inscription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*, that is, It came, it saw, it fled; others in Honour of the Queen, with Fire-ships and a Fleet all in Confusion, inscribed, *Dux Femina facti*, that is, A woman was Conductour in the Exploit. In their Flight sure it is that many of their Ships were cast away upon the Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and above 700 Souldiers and Sea-men cast on Shoar in *Scotland*; who, at the Intercession of the Prince of *Parma* to the King of *Scots*, and by Permission of Queen *Elizabeth*, were a year after sent over into the *Low-Countries*. But more unmercifully were those miserable Wretches dealt withall whose Hap it was to be driven by Tempests into *Ireland*: For they were slain some of them by the wild *Irish*, and others put to the Sword by Command of the Lord Deputy. For he, fearing lest they would joyn with the Irish Rebels, and seeing that *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught*, whom he had once or twice commanded to shew Rigour towards them as they yielded themselves, had refused to doe it, sent *Fowl* Deputy-marshal, who drew them out of their Lurking-holes and Hiding-places, and beheaded about 200. of them. This Carriage the Queen condemned from her Heart, as favouring of too great Cruelty. Herewith the rest being terrified, sick and starved as they were, they committed themselves to the Sea in their broken and tattered Vessels, and were many of them swallowed up of the Waves.

The *Spaniards* that got Home imputed their Misfortune to the Prince of *Parma's* Negligence, and their own too obsequious Prudence, who thought it a great Crime not punctually to observe their Instructions. For by their Instructions they were strictly commanded not to attempt any thing before such time as the Prince of *Parma* had joyned his Forces with theirs, and they were not at all left to their own Judgement and Discretion as Occasion should serve. Otherwise they bragged that they could very easily have surprized the English Fleet in their Havens. And martiall men warmly disputed the Case, whether Instructions were not religiously to be observed and kept to, whatsoever should fall out, lest through Neglect of Obedience all Authority and Command should be violated; or whether they might not upon urgent Necessity correct and enlarge their Instructions, and accommodate them to the present Occasion, according as new matter should arise, lest weighty Importances and Opportunities of doing considerable Service might otherwise be let slip and lost.

The Spanish King himself bare the Overthrow very patiently, as received from God, and gave, and commanded to be given all over *Spain*, Thanks to God and the Saints that it was no greater; and shewed singular Pity and Commiseration in relieving the distressed Souldiers and Mariners.

Queen *Elizabeth* in like sort commanded publick Prayers and Thanksgiving to be used throughout all the Churches of *England*: and she herself, as it were going in Triumph, went with a very gallant Train of Noblemen through the Streets of *London*, which were all hung with blew Cloath, (the severall Companies of the Citie standing on both Sides the Way with their Banners in decent and gallant Order,) being carried in a Chariot drawn with two Horses, (for Coaches were not then so much in use amongst Princes as now they are amongst private men,) to *Paul's* Church, (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were hung up to be seen,) gave most hearty Thanks to God, and heard a Sermon, wherein the Glory was given to God alone. On the Lord Admirall she conferred a certain Revenue for his happy Service, and many times commended him and the Captains of her Ships, as men born for the Preservation of their Country. The rest she graciously saluted by Name as oft as she saw them, as men that had so well merited of her and the Commonwealth, (wherewith they esteemed themselves well rewarded;)

and those that were wounded and indigent she relieved with noble Pensions. The Learned men, both at Home and abroad, congratulating the Victory with Hearts transported for Joy, wrote triumphall Poems in all Languages upon this Subject.

"The only history worth reading," says Ruskin, "is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen heard out of the mouths of men who did and saw. One fresh draught of such history is worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts and reasonings and suppositions and theories; and I believe that as we get wiser we shall take little trouble about the history of nations who have left no distinct records of themselves, but spend our time only in the examination of the faithful documents which, in any period of the world, have been left, either in the form of art or literature, portraying the scenes or recording the events which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men."

Whether Ruskin be right or not—and what he says, although it enforces an important truth, the importance and the interest of keeping close to original authorities in our studies of history, must be taken *cum grano salis*—the young people will be glad to read this account of the defeat of the Armada from Camden's *Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. William Camden, in writing his famous Annals, was "portraying the scenes which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men." When he writes about the defeat of the Armada, he is writing "the history of what was done and seen" as he heard it "out of the mouths of men who did and saw." He had doubtless seen Lord Howard of Effingham a hundred times, he doubtless talked with Frobisher and Hawkins, and he may have heard from Sir Francis Drake's own lips the story of the first sight of the Armada off Plymouth or of the terrible fight off Calais. Very likely he saw Queen Elizabeth leave London for the camp at Tilbury, and probably he heard from many of his school-boys how they saw beacon lights flashing the signal of danger from hill to hill over England. For William Camden was second master of Westminster School in 1588. He became head master five years afterwards, and died just after the Pilgrim Fathers had settled Plymouth.

When the young people have read the account of the Armada by this historian who wrote of what he himself saw or what he heard "out of the mouths of men who did and saw," they must then read the account as given by a modern historian, the most brilliant account which has ever been given, that by Motley, in his *History of the United Netherlands*. Mr. Green gives two passages from this account in his interesting little volume of *Readings*

from *English History*; but the whole story should be read, as it occurs in the second volume of Motley's work. The most dramatic passage Mr. Green does not give, the passage describing the scene upon which the full moon looked down on that midsummer night before the fight off Calais. "Never, since England was England, had such a sight been seen as now revealed itself in those narrow straits between Dover and Calais." He pictures the impatience of the Spanish commanders as they paced their decks that night. "And the impatience of the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet was equal to that of their commanders. There was London almost before their eyes — a huge mass of treasure, richer and more accessible than those mines beyond the Atlantic which had so often rewarded Spanish chivalry with fabulous wealth. And there were men in these galleons who remembered the sack of Antwerp eleven years before — men who could tell from personal experience how helpless was a great commercial city when once in the clutch of disciplined brigands; men who, in that dread 'fury of Antwerp,' had enriched themselves in an hour with the accumulations of a merchant's lifetime, and who had slain fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brides and bridegrooms, before each other's eyes, until the number of inhabitants butchered in the blazing streets rose to many thousands, and the plunder from palaces and warehouses was counted by millions, before the sun had set on the 'great fury.' Those Spaniards and Italians and Walloons were now thirsting for more gold, for more blood; and as the capital of England was even more wealthy and far more defenseless than the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands had been, so it was resolved that the London 'fury' should be more thorough and more productive than the 'fury' of Antwerp, at the memory of which the world still shuddered. And these professional soldiers had been taught to consider the English as a pacific, delicate, effeminate race, dependent on good living, without experience of war, quickly fatigued and discouraged, and even more easily to be plundered and butchered than were the excellent burghers of Antwerp." Then follows the description of the confusion and the panic which seized the Spaniards as the dark clouds overspread the heavens and suddenly the English fire-ships appeared among them.

The admirable brief account of the Coming of the Armada, by Samuel Lucas, in his *Secularia, or Surveys on the Mainstream of History*, is based wholly on Motley. At the outset he pays this warm tribute to Motley's work: "It is a memorable excuse for our national vanity that the grandest event in the history of England was the grandest also in that of Modern Europe, and, we may add, that its issue was so critical for mankind that no sense of incongruity is coupled with the circumstance that we owe its latest and best history to an American. Mr. Motley has come to the turning-

point in the English-Dutch struggle against Spain and the counter-reformation, when the hopes and prospects of centuries were staked upon the Spanish Holy Armada. By observation of the Armada from a new point of view, by watching it from the opposite coast, from the side of our Dutch allies, he has seen its cosmopolitan dimensions and bearings, as indicated through the vista of its historical perspective. Its contributories, its adversaries, all who then watched and waited, and the vast interests and secret aspirations involved, are included in his estimate, are examined and assessed. The shock of battle stretches over the whole west of Europe, and ranges even to the New World, like the clouds of combatants flying skyward in the picture-fight of the Huns; and the dwellers in distant vales, even to the edge of the Carpathians, and still more the posterity of every Aryan race, are implicated in the success of those who strive in the foreground and pluck up Liberty itself out of the surges of the narrow seas."

"On the other hand," urges Mr. Lucas, "it must be conceded that this comprehensive survey tends to dwindle the foremost champions in the contest, and that an English history of equal vigour is required to redress the balance. Mr. Charles Knight, in his admirable *Popular History of England*, has told the story with that hearty and infectious patriotism which is one of his characteristic qualifications for his task. But we still need a special history of this epoch, which shall exhaust the national resources for its illustration. Had Mr. Kingsley devoted his great talents to this office, for which he possesses the requisite sympathies, we can imagine the glorious and triumphant inspiration he would have caught from the subject and imparted to his readers. As it is, he has depicted one element of that moving age, and that the strongest in its culminating crisis, with as much discernment as Sir Walter Scott, in the opinion of Thierry, depicted the consequences of the Norman conquest. As in the case of *Ivanhoe*, we must refer to a novel for much which the historian has left untold, and must recognize in *Westward Ho* a complement to *The United Netherlands*. We owe to Mr. Kingsley, with some allowance for the poetic idealization which is a common exigency of romantic fiction, a conception of the type of English audacity which conspired with the waves to wreck the policy of Rome and Spain." The young people should read the account referred to in Knight's *Popular History of England* (vol. iii), and they will surely read *Westward Ho*, which Knight himself praises, in connection with his story of the Armada, as "a romance imbued with the truest spirit of history, and displaying a far higher, because more intelligent, patriotism than most of our modern histories of this period of heroic struggle."

It was in 1862 that Mr. Lucas regretted the lack of any adequate English history of the time of the Armada. Immediately after this appeared

Mr. Froude's *History of English*, the last volume of which contains perhaps the finest account of the defeat of the Armada which has been written by an English historian. Mr. Froude, on the title-page of his first volume, styled his work a *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*. But this was changed, in the last volume, to a *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*. "My object, as I defined it at the outset," he says in his concluding chapter, "was to describe the transition from the Catholic England with which the century opened, the England of a dominant Church and monasteries and pilgrimages, into the England of progressive intelligence; and the question whether the nation was to pass a second time through the farce of a reconciliation with Rome was answered once and for ever by the cannon of Sir Francis Drake." He proceeds to a striking summary of the important results, not only for England but for Europe and the world, of the defeat of the Armada. "The action before Gravelines of the 30th of July, 1588," he says, "decided the largest problems ever submitted in the history of mankind to the arbitrament of force." Another has well characterized this momentous action as "the Salamis of our modern civilization."

All the general histories of England give accounts, of course, of the defeat of the Armada. Green's account is brief, but spirited. The chapter in the first volume of Ranke's *History of England* should be read by the thoughtful student. The three chapters in Bourne's *English Seamen under the Tudors* owe much to Motley. An account that is especially commended to the young people is that in Ewald's admirable volume of *Stories from the State Papers*. Creighton's *Age of Elizabeth*, in the "Epochs of History" series, is a good book for the young people. Barrow's interesting *Life of Sir Francis Drake* contains many documents illustrating the history of the Armada, which are not easily accessible elsewhere. The special student will consult the collections of Hakluyt, Harris, Kerr and Somers. Arber's *English Garner*, vol. vii, contains several curious ballads of the time of the Armada. Of Macaulay's stirring unfinished ballad it is scarcely necessary to remind the young people.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada occurred in 1588, just three hundred years ago. It was one of the most important events in modern history, because it decisively settled the question of Protestant supremacy and free institutions in England and in Northern Europe. This powerful attack of Philip II upon England must be studied in connection with his bloody war upon the Netherlands at the same time, both being parts of one great movement to crush Protestantism in Europe. Had England fallen before him, Holland would have fallen also.

1588 was the midst of the great Elizabethan Age. Elizabeth had been Queen just thirty years, and was to reign just half that number of years longer (1558-1603). Mary Stuart was beheaded the year before, Lord Burleigh was the great minister, and Leicester, who died at Kenilworth late in the same year, was still the Queen's favorite. Shakespeare, twenty-four years old in 1588, had come up to London from Stratford two years before. Francis Bacon, three years older than Shakespeare, was at Gray's Inn, and was to begin his parliamentary career the next year. Hooker, the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was now master of the Temple. Sir Philip Sidney, born in the same year with Hooker, had fallen at Zutphen, assisting the Dutch against Philip, two years before. Edmund Spenser was living in Ireland, writing his *Faerie Queen*, the first three books of which were published two years after the Armada. It will be remembered that Spenser was a warm friend of Sir Walter Raleigh. They were born in the same year, 1552. Raleigh, whose Roanoke colony had just come to grief, distinguished himself in the contests with the Armada, although not so prominent as Frobisher, Hawkins and Drake. Drake had made his famous voyage round the world nine years before; Frobisher, the first Englishman who sought the Northwest passage, had explored the coast of Greenland and discovered the strait which bears his name three years before that; Davis, following in Frobisher's wake, had just discovered Davis's strait; Gilbert, returning from Newfoundland, had been lost five years before the Armada; Hawkins had begun the African slave-trade twenty-five years before. Hardly a dozen years have elapsed since the first rude theatre was erected in Blackfriars, but John Lyly, Robert Greene and Christopher Marlowe are already writing plays. Marlowe, born in the same year with Shakespeare, took his degree at Cambridge the year before the Armada. Ben Jonson, sixteen years old, entered Cambridge the very year of the Armada. Fletcher was a boy of a dozen years, and Beaumont and Massinger had but just been born. In the bookshops of London, William Camden shall presently find the maiden volumes of Daniel, Drayton and Constable, all of them about beginning to write poetry at the time of the Armada. Montaigne's *Essays*, published eight years before, have already found their way to the English booksellers; and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* — published in the same year that the Council of Trent closed its session and that the Thirty-nine Articles were adopted — has been on their counters for twenty-five years. Hobbes, the famous author of the *Leviathan*, was born in the very year of the Armada. Chapman, the translator of Homer, was thirty years old, and living in London. Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was a boy of ten. Rugby, Harrow and Westminster schools had all been recently founded. Roger Ascham, the author of the *Schoolmaster*, who did so much for the

reform of education in England, had died just twenty years before. Bradford and Winthrop, the governors of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, were born just at the time of the Armada — Winthrop the same year, Bradford the year after. Robert Browne has been preaching Independency eight years, and Barrowe and Greenwood are already in prison for circulating his doctrines. William Brewster, the founder of the little church at Scrooby, who had been in the service of Davison, had just left the Court, upon Davison's downfall. John Robinson was a student preparing for Cambridge. John Smith, a Lincolnshire boy like Robinson, was not yet a dozen years old and had no dreams of Virginia, which had but just received its name.

What was going on in Europe outside of England in 1588? The great conflict with Spain was going on in Holland under Maurice, William the Silent having fallen under the hand of the assassin four years before. Grotius, the first great writer on international law, was a boy in Holland. Egmont and Horn were beheaded just twenty years before. John of Barneveldt, who was beheaded just before the Pilgrims sailed from Holland, was already prominent in public affairs; he had been at the head of the deputation which, after the death of William, offered the sovereignty of the Dutch provinces to Queen Elizabeth. Wallenstein was born in the same year with Grotius, 1583. Rubens, at Antwerp, was eleven years old at the time of the Armada. It was the time of the Huguenots in France. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew occurred sixteen years before the Armada; the Duke of Guise was assassinated in that very year, 1588; Henry of Navarre shall win the battle of Ivry two years later. Richelieu has just been born. Giordano Bruno, who shall be burned at Rome the last year of the century, is traveling over Europe, publishing his books; Socinus is just beginning to preach Unitarianism in Poland; Arminius, who, returning from his studies at Geneva, became pastor at Amsterdam in this year 1588, is beginning to have doubts about Calvinism. Calvin himself had been dead twenty-four years, dying the year of Shakespeare's birth. John Knox in Scotland died the year of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Cervantes, who died the same year that Shakespeare died, is living in Spain, about ready to write his *Don Quixote*. Lope de Vega is just beginning his literary life in Spain; Calderon, the greatest of the Spanish poets, was born before Cervantes died. For the rest, think of Tycho Brahe in his great observatory near Copenhagen, trying to overthrow the Copernican astronomy; of Kepler, a youth of seventeen, studying at Tübingen; of Galileo at Pisa, about to experiment by dropping balls from the Leaning Tower; of Tasso at Naples, soon to die at Rome. Think of all these things, to realize how full a time was the time of Elizabeth and of the Spanish Armada.

Old South Leaflets.

The Bill of Rights.

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT,
AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

1689.

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the Thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty-eight [o. s.], present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain Declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following, viz.:—

Whereas the late King James II., by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:—

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to

be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognisable only in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal causes.

9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned, and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late King James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this

nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare :—

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence and prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the

amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises; ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties :

II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them ; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives ; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess ; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body ; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law instead of them ; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

“I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be

faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary :

“So help me God.”

“I, A. B., do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm :

“So help me God.”

IV. Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their Majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration; and all officers and ministers whatso-

ever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence, and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said Majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognise, acknowledge, and declare, that King James II. having abdicated the Government, and their Majesties having accepted the Crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united, and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the Crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established, and declared, that the Crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in, and executed by, his Majesty, in the names of both their Majesties, during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said Crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty: and for default of such issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the

heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said Majesty: And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities, for ever: and do faithfully promise, that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the Crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a Papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, That all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise, any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance, and the said Crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying, as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every King and Queen of this realm, who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this kingdom, shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament, next after his or her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the

statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Charles II., intituled "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." But if it shall happen that such King or Queen, upon his or her succession to the Crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such King or Queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen after such King or Queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their Majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after this present session of Parliament, no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred eighty-nine, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other, than as if this Act had never been made.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

1. That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.

2. That in case the Crown and Imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.

3. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.¹

4. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.²

5. That, after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although to be naturalised or made a denizen — except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the Crown, to himself, or to any other or others in trust for him.

6. That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.³

¹ Repealed in the first year of George I.'s reign.

² Repealed by 4 Anne, c. 8, 6 Anne, c. 7.

³ Repealed in the fourth year of Anne's reign.

7. That, after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

8. That no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

The Bill of Rights was an act of Parliament, passed in 1689, declaring the rights and liberties of the people and defining the power of the King and its conditions. It confirmed and embodied in itself the various clauses of the Declaration of Rights, which accompanied the offer of the crown to William and Mary, February 13, 1689. It reasserted and established the doctrine, asserted repeatedly by the English people in earlier times, but denied and defied by the Stuarts, that the crown was held by no "divine right," but by the will of the people and the people's Parliament. It was a new *Magna Charta*. The Revolution was the triumph of the Puritan principle, which had been eclipsed at the Restoration. It secured all that Hampden and Cromwell demanded against Charles I, it made absolute or arbitrary rule, such as the Stuarts attempted, thenceforth impossible, established the supremacy of Parliament, and made England practically almost a republic. "The Revolution," says Gardiner, "was more than a change of sovereigns. It was the rejection of the ideas of the minority of 1641, which had been adopted as sufficient at the Restoration, in favor of the idea of the supremacy of Parliament. Pym's political ideas were at last to be realized. The name and title of the King were to remain as they had been before. But it was to be clearly understood that if a serious difficulty ensued, the King was to give way to Parliament, and more especially to the House of Commons, by which the nation was more directly represented. Up to the Revolution, England was under a monarchy surrounded by certain constitutional checks, intended to prevent the will of the monarch from degenerating into arbitrary wilfulness. After the Revolution, England became practically a republic, in which the crown possessed various constitutional powers, intended to prevent the will of the representatives of the people from degenerating into arbitrary wilfulness."

"In his progress to the capital [upon the Restoration, in 1660] Charles passed in review the soldiers assembled on Blackheath. Betrayed by their

general, abandoned by their leaders, surrounded as they were by a nation in arms, the gloomy silence of their ranks awed even the careless King with a sense of danger. But none of the victories of the New Model were so glorious as the victory which it won over itself. Quietly and without a struggle, as men who bowed to the inscrutable will of God, the farmers and traders who had dashed Rupert's chivalry to pieces on Naseby field, who had scattered at Worcester the 'army of the aliens,' and driven into helpless flight the sovereign that now came 'to enjoy his own again,' who had renewed beyond sea the glories of Cressy and Agincourt, had mastered the Parliament, had brought a king to justice and the block, had given laws to England, and held even Cromwell in awe, became farmers and traders again, and were known among their fellow-men by no other sign than their greater soberness and industry. And with them Puritanism laid down the sword. It ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men. It was from the moment of its seeming fall that its real victory began. As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing that was really worthy in the work of Puritanism had been undone. The revels of Whitehall, the skepticism and debauchery of courtiers, the corruption of statesmen, left the mass of Englishmen what Puritanism had made them — serious, earnest, sober in life and conduct, firm in their love of Protestantism and of freedom. In the Revolution of 1688 Puritanism did the work of civil liberty which it had failed to do in that of 1642. It wrought out through Wesley and the revival of the eighteenth century the work of religious reform which its earlier efforts had only thrown back for a hundred years. Slowly but steadily it introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics. The whole history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism."— *Green*.

"The passing of the Bill of Rights in 1689 restored to the monarchy the character which it had lost under the Tudors and the Stuarts. The right of the people through its representatives to depose the King, to change the order of succession, and to set on the throne whom they would, was now established. All claim of divine right, or hereditary right independent of the law, was formally put an end to by the election of William and Mary. Since their day no English sovereign has been able to advance any claim to the crown save a claim which rested on a particular clause in a particular Act of Parliament. William, Mary and Anne were sovereigns simply by virtue of

the Bill of Rights. George the First and his successors have been sovereigns solely by virtue of the Act of Settlement. An English monarch is now as much the creature of an Act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm." — *Green*.

Macaulay's *History of England* is the great work upon the Revolution of 1688. That work is indeed simply a history of the causes, course and results of that Revolution. Its opening words will be remembered: "I purpose to write the history of England from the accession of King James the Second down to a time which is within the memory of men still living. I shall recount the errors which, in a few months, alienated a loyal gentry and priesthood from the House of Stuart. I shall trace the course of that revolution which terminated the long struggle between our sovereigns and their parliaments, and bound up together the rights of the people and the title of the reigning dynasty." From Macaulay's summary of the results of the Revolution of 1688, the following passage is taken: "This revolution, of all revolutions the least violent, has been of all revolutions the most beneficent. It finally decided the great question whether the popular element which had, ever since the age of Fitzwalter and De Montfort, been found in the English polity, should be destroyed by the monarchical element, or should be suffered to develop itself freely, and to become dominant. The strife between the two principles had been long, fierce, and doubtful. It had lasted through four reigns. It had produced seditions, impeachments, rebellions, battles, sieges, proscriptions, judicial massacres. Sometimes liberty, sometimes royalty, had seemed to be on the point of perishing. During many years one half of the energy of England had been employed in counteracting the other half. The executive power and the legislative power had so effectually impeded each other that the state had been of no account in Europe. The king-at-arms, who proclaimed William and Mary before Whitehall Gate, did in truth announce that this great struggle was over; that there was entire union between the throne and the Parliament; that England, long dependent and degraded, was again a power of the first rank; that the ancient laws by which the prerogative was bounded would thenceforth be held as sacred as the prerogative itself, and would be followed out to all their consequences; that the executive administration would be conducted in conformity with the sense of the representatives of the nation; and that no reform which the two houses should, after mature deliberation, propose, would be obstinately withstood by the sovereign. The Declaration of Rights, though it made nothing law which had not been law before, contained the germ of the law which gave religious freedom to

the Dissenter, of the law which secured the independence of the judges, of the law which limited the duration of Parliaments, of the law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries, of the law which prohibited the slave-trade, of the law which abolished the sacramental test, of the law which relieved the Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, of the law which reformed the representative system, of every good law which has been passed during a hundred and sixty years, of every good law which may hereafter, in the course of ages, be found necessary to promote the public weal, and to satisfy the demands of public opinion."

Bishop Burnet's *History of his Own Times* is the most important original authority for the period of the Revolution. Macaulay considered Burnet a "rash and partial" writer, but he was a most learned, industrious and earnest writer, and his works are of very great value. He was the personal friend of William of Orange, and accompanied him in his invasion of England, in the capacity of chaplain. In his interesting account of the landing at Torbay, he says: "As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God which had appeared so signally on this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity."

Evelyn's *Memoirs*, of which Sir Walter Scott said that he "had never seen so rich a mine," also cover the period of the English Revolution. Evelyn was born in 1620, five years before Charles I became king, and lived four years after the death of William. The life of Sir William Temple, to whom Macaulay has devoted one of his longest and most important essays, falls within this time.

Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, chaps. xiv and xv, discusses the Revolution with great thoroughness and impartiality. This discussion and that by Ranke, in his *History of England in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. iv, will be read by the careful student. There are two brief histories of the Revolution which are commended to the young people — *The Fall of the Stuarts*, by Rev. E. Hale, in the "Epochs of History" series, and the *History of the English Revolution of 1688*, by Charles Duke Yonge. "Macaulay's brilliant narrative of that great event," says the latter writer in his preface, "is too long for ordinary students; the account given in even the best school history is unavoidably far too short; while the work of Hallam touches only the constitutional points, the purely historical events not coming within his plan. It seemed, therefore, that a narrative which should at once be full enough to give an adequate knowledge of the Revolu-

tion in its historical and constitutional aspects, and yet not so minute or prolix as to dishearten or deter the ordinary reader from approaching the subject, might be of use to both pupils and teachers."

1688, the year of the English Revolution, the final overthrow of the Stuarts, was twenty-eight years after the Restoration of Charles II, which brought the Puritan period to an end. It was just forty years after the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War on the Continent. The Thirty Years' War began the year (1618) that Raleigh laid down his head on the block in Palace Yard, the victim of James I, and ended the year before Charles I came to the scaffold in Whitehall, thus being exactly synchronous with the long struggle of Parliament with the Stuarts, out of which came the Commonwealth. Milton and Marvell, the Puritan poets, had been dead, the one fourteen years, the other ten, in 1688. Sir Harry Vane had suffered two years after the Restoration. Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* had been published ten years, died in this same year, 1688. Baxter died three years later. Baxter had been a chaplain in the army of Parliament after the battle of Naseby. Three years before the Revolution he had been tried before Judge Jeffreys and imprisoned. That was the year of the famous "Bloody Assizes." Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, the noble republican, infamously condemned for participation in the "Rye House plot," had both been executed five years before the Revolution. Ralph Cudworth and Henry More, the Cambridge Platonists, died, the former the year of the Revolution, the latter the year before. Alexander Pope was born this year, 1688. Richardson, the novelist, was born the next year. Dryden had been poet laureate twenty years; he had published *The Hind and the Panther* the year before, 1687. Newton had published his *Principia* at the same time. Swift, his studies at Trinity College, Dublin, ended, came over to England in the year of the Revolution. Daniel Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, then a young man a little older than Swift, joined the Prince of Orange's army. Defoe was born in 1661, the year after the Restoration. The Great Plague, of which he afterwards wrote so vivid an account, occurred when he was only four years old. That was the first of a rapid series of terrible afflictions for London. The Great Fire came the next year, 1666; and it was the year after that that De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and threatened the city. Addison, in 1688, was an Oxford student. Isaac Watts was only a boy of fourteen, but already making verses. George Fox, the Quaker, was nearing the end of his life. His

friend, William Penn, who had much influence with James II, and who had just founded Pennsylvania, is now back in England. Christopher Wren is building St. Paul's cathedral. Greenwich Observatory had just been founded, and Flamsteed, the first astronomer-royal, for whose use it was built (it was called Flamsteed House at first), was making the first trustworthy catalogue of the fixed stars. The *Habeas Corpus Act* had been passed about ten years before; and the terms "Whig" and "Tory" had come into use at the same time. Before William's reign was over, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded, the Bank of England was incorporated, and England was visited by Peter the Great, who was already Czar of Russia in 1688. The ruins of Pompeii were discovered just at the time of the Revolution. In France, the classical literary period was coming to an end. Corneille had been dead four years, Moliere about ten years longer, Pascal about ten years longer still; Pascal, who so earnestly opposed the Jesuits in France, died the same year (1662) that Sir Harry Vane died on the scaffold in England. Racine, the most admired of the French dramatists, was still living in 1688; his greatest work, *Athalie*, appeared just after the Revolution, and he died near the close of William's reign. Bossuet was living, and published his famous work on Protestantism this very year, 1688. Montesquieu, whose work on *The Spirit of Laws* was more cited than any other work by the framers of our own Constitution, was born the next year, and Voltaire soon afterwards. Madame de Sévigné, now sixty, was living in Paris, writing letters to her "infinitely dear child." Fenelon had just formed the acquaintance of Madame Guyon, and his controversy with Bossuet over Madame Guyon's "Quietism" began presently. Louis the Fourteenth was King of France. It was the time of John Sobieski in Poland. It was the time of Sir Edmund Andros and the struggle for the Charter in Massachusetts, the time too of the witchcraft horror. In Germany, Bach and Händel had just been born, both in the same year, 1685. This is a good point to remember in the history of music. In connection with the history of philosophy, it is easy to remember that John Locke, who had been exiled in Holland, came back to England in the fleet that conveyed the Princess of Orange. He had finished his great work, the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, in Holland, the year before the Revolution, and his first letter on *Toleration* appeared the year after the Revolution. The student of American history will remember that it was John Locke who framed the constitution of Carolina, while Charles II was King. Berkeley, who was influenced by Locke and who also is interesting to the student of American history on account of his residence in Rhode Island and his "Westward the course of empire," etc., was a boy of four in 1688. Hobbes

was born just a century before Locke came back from Holland with his book, the very year of the Armada. Locke was born in 1632, just a century before the birth of Washington. Spinoza was born at Amsterdam the same year, which was the year that Gustavus Adolphus fell at Lützen; but he died at the age of forty-four, while Locke lived until 1704, just a century before the death of Kant. It will be remembered that Spinoza corresponded with Leibnitz, then a young man, and sent him the manuscript of his *Ethics*. Spinoza's first important philosophical work was his abridgement of the *Meditations* of Descartes, which he wrote at Rhynsburg near Leyden. It was in retirement near Leyden that Descartes had written nearly all of his important works, while Spinoza was yet a boy.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the last six years in connection with the annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and meet such a real need that the Directors of the Old South Studies have begun the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges and private clubs and classes especially in mind. Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co., of Boston, will, by special arrangement, publish the Leaflets for schools and the trade. These Leaflets will be largely reproductions of important original political and historical papers, accompanied by useful notes. They will consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and will be sold at a very low price, five cents per copy or three dollars per hundred copies, the aim being to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Some idea of the character of this general series of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first thirteen numbers, already published: No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787.

Old South Leaflets.

The Eve of the French Revolution.

CARLYLE.

To the eye of History many things in the sick-room of Louis the Fifteenth are now visible, which to the Courtiers there present were invisible. For indeed it is well said, "in every object there is inexhaustible meaning; the eye sees in it what the eye brings means of seeing." To Newton and to Newton's Dog Diamond, what a different pair of Universes; while the painting on the optical retina of both was, most likely, the same! Let the reader here, in this sick-room of Louis, endeavor to look with the mind too.

Time was when men could (so to speak) of a given man, by nourishing and decorating him with fit appliances, to the due pitch, *make* themselves a King, almost as the Bees do; and, what was still more to the purpose, loyally obey him when made. The man so nourished and decorated, thenceforth named royal, does verily bear rule; and is said, and even thought, to be, for example, "prosecuting conquests in Flanders," when he lets himself like luggage be carried thither; and no light luggage; covering miles of road. He has not only his *Maison-Bouche*, and *Valetaille* without end, but his very Troop of Players, with their pasteboard coulisses, thunder-barrels, their kettles, fiddles, stage-wardrobes, portable larders (and chaffering and quarreling enough); all mounted in wagons, tumbrils, second-hand chaises, — sufficient not to conquer Flanders, but the patience of the world. With such a flood of loud jingling appurtenances does he lumber along, prosecuting his conquests in Flanders: wonderful to behold. So nevertheless it was and had been: to some solitary thinker it might seem strange; but even to him, inevitable, not unnatural.

For ours is a most fictile world ; and man is the most fingent plastic of creatures. A world not fixable ; not fathomable ! An unfathomable Somewhat, which is *Not we* ; which we can work with, and live amidst, — and model, miraculously in our miraculous Being, and name World. — But if the very Rocks and Rivers (as metaphysic teaches) are, in strict language, *made* by those Outward Senses of ours, how much more, by the Inward Sense, are all Phenomena of the spiritual kind : Dignities, Authorities, Holies, Unholies ! Which inward sense, moreover, is not permanent like the outward ones, but forever growing and changing. Does not the Black African take of Sticks and Old Clothes (say, exported Monmouth-Street cast-clothes) what will suffice ; and of these, cunningly combining them, fabricate for himself an Eidolon (Idol, or *Thing Seen*) and name it *Mumbo-Jumbo*, which he can thenceforth pray to, with upturned awestruck eye, not without hope ? The white European mocks ; but ought rather to consider ; and see whether he, at home, could not do the like a little more wisely.

So it *was*, we say, in those conquests of Flanders, thirty years ago : but so it no longer is. Alas, much more lies sick than poor Louis : not the French King only, but the French Kingship ; this too, after long rough tear and wear, is breaking down. The world is all so changed ; so much that seemed vigorous has sunk decrepit, so much that was not is beginning to be ! — Borne over the Atlantic, to the closing ear of Louis, King by the Grace of God, what sounds are these ; muffled-ominous, new in our centuries ? Boston Harbour is black with unexpected Tea : behold a Pennsylvanian Congress gather ; and ere long, on Bunker Hill, DEMOCRACY announcing, in rifle-volleys death-winged, under her Star Banner, to the tune of Yankee-doodle-doo, that she is born, and, whirlwindlike, will envelop the whole world !

Sovereigns die and Sovereignties : how all dies, and is for a Time only ; is a "Time-phantasm, yet reckons itself real." The Merovingian Kings, slowly wending on their bullock carts through the streets of Paris, with their long hair flowing, have all wended slowly on, — into Eternity. Charlemagne sleeps at Salzburg, with truncheon grounded ; only Fable expecting that he will awaken. Charles the Hammer, Pepin Bow-legged, where now is their eye of menace, their voice of command ? Rollo and his shaggy Northmen cover not the Seine with ships ; but have sailed off on a longer voyage. *The hair of Towhead (Tête d'étoupes)* now needs no combing ;

Iron-cutter (*Taillefer*) cannot cut a cobweb; shrill Fredegonda, shrill Brunhilda have had out their hot life-scold, and lie silent, their hot life-frenzy cooled. Neither from that black Tower de Nesle, descends now darkling the doomed gallant, in his sack, to the Seine waters; plunging into Night: for Dame de Nesle now cares not for this world's gallantry, heeds not this world's scandal; Dame de Nesle is herself gone into Night. They all are gone; sunk, — down, down, with the tumult they made; and the rolling and the trampling of ever new generations passes over them; and they hear it not any more forever.

And yet withal has there not been realised somewhat? Consider (to go no further) these strong Stone-edifices, and what they hold! Mud-Town of the Borderers (*Lutetia Parisiorum* or *Barisiorum*) has paved itself, has spread over all the Seine Islands, and far and wide on each bank, and become City of Paris, sometimes boasting to be "Athens of Europe," and even "Capital of the Universe." Stone towers frown aloft; long-lasting, grim with a thousand years. Cathedrals are there, and a Creed (or memory of a Creed) in them; Palaces, and a State and Law. Thou seest the Smoke-vapour; unextinguished Breath as of a thing living. Labour's thousand hammers ring on her anvils: also a more miraculous Labour works noiselessly, not with the Hand but with the Thought. How have cunning workmen in all crafts, with their cunning head and right-hand, tamed the Four Elements to be their ministers; yoking the Winds to their Sea-Chariot, making the very Stars their Nautical Timepiece; — and written and collected a *Bibliothèque de Roi*; among whose Books is the Hebrew Book! A wondrous race of creatures; *these* have been realised, and what of Skill is in these: call not the Past Time, with all its confused wretchedness, a lost one.

Observe, however, that of man's whole terrestrial possessions and attainments, unspeakably the noblest are his Symbols, divine or divine-seeming; under which he marches and fights, with victorious assurance, in this life-battle: what we can call his Realised Ideals. Of which realised Ideals, omitting the rest, consider only these two: his Church, or spiritual Guidance; his Kingship, or temporal one. The Church: what a word was there; richer than Golconda and the treasures of the world! In the heart of the remotest mountains rises the little Kirk; the Dead all slumbering round it, under their white memorial-stones, "in hope of a happy resurrection:" dull wert thou, O Reader, if never in

any hour (say of moaning midnight, when such Kirk hung spectral in the sky, and Being was as if swallowed up of Darkness) it spoke to thee — things unspeakable, that went to thy soul's soul. Strong was he that had a Church, what we can call a Church: he stood thereby, though "in the centre of Immensities, in the conflux of Eternities," yet manlike towards God and man; the vague shoreless Universe had become for him a firm city, and dwelling which he knew. Such virtue was in Belief; in these words, well spoken: *I believe*. Well might men prize their *Credo*, and raise stateliest Temples for it, and reverend Hierarchies, and give it the tithe of their substance; it was worth living for and dying for.

Neither was that an inconsiderable moment when wild armed men first raised their Strongest aloft on the buckler-throne; and, with clanging armour and hearts, said solemnly: Be thou our Acknowledged Strongest! In such Acknowledged Strongest (well named King, *Kön-ning*, Can-ning, or Man that was Able) what a Symbol shone now for them, — significant with the destinies of the world! A Symbol of true Guidance in return for loving Obedience; properly, if he knew it, the prime want of man. A Symbol which might be called sacred; for is there not, in reverence for what is better than we, an indestructible sacredness. On which ground, too, it was well said there lay in the Acknowledged Strongest a divine right; as surely there might in the Strongest, whether Acknowledged or not, — considering *who* it was that made him strong. And so, in the midst of confusions and unutterable incongruities (as all growth is confused), did this of Royalty, with Loyalty environing it, spring up; and grow mysteriously, subduing and assimilating (for a principle of Life was in it); till it also had grown world-great, and was among the main Facts of our modern existence. Such a Fact, that Louis XIV., for example, could answer the expostulatory Magistrate with his "*L'Etat c'est moi* (The State? I am the State);" and be replied to by silence and abashed looks. So far had accident and forethought; had your Louis Eleventh, with the leaden Virgin in their hat-band, and torture-wheels and conical *oubliettes* (man-eating!) under their feet; your Henri Fourths, with their prophesied social millennium "when every peasant should have his fowl in the pot;" and on the whole, the fertility of this most fertile Existence (named of Good and Evil), — brought it, in the matter of the Kingship. Wondrous! Concerning which *may we not* again say, that in the huge mass of Evil, as it rolls

and swells, there is ever some Good working imprisoned; working towards deliverance and triumph?

How such Ideals do realise themselves; and grow, wondrously, from amid the incongruous, ever-fluctuating chaos of the Actual; this is what World-History, if it teach any thing, has to teach us. How they grow; and, after long stormy growth, bloom out mature, supreme; then quickly (for the blossom is brief) fall into decay; sorrowfully dwindle; and crumble down, or rush down, noisily or noiselessly disappearing. The blossom is so brief; as of some centennial Cactus-flower, which after a century of waiting shines out for hours! Thus from the day when rough Clovis, in the Champ de Mars, in sight of his whole army, had to cleave retributively the head of that rough Frank, with sudden battle-axe, and the fierce words, "It was thus thou clavest the vase" (St. Remi's and mine) "at Soissons," forward to Louis the Grand and his *L'Etat c'est moi*, we count some twelve hundred years: and now this very next Louis is dying, and so much dying with him! — Nay, thus too if Catholicism, with and against Feudalism (but *not* against Nature and her bounty), gave us English a Shakespeare and Era of Shakespeare, and so produced a blossom of Catholicism — it was not till Catholicism itself, so far as Law could abolish it, had been abolished here.

But of those decadent ages in which no Ideal either grows or blossoms? When Belief and Loyalty have passed away, and only the cant and false echo of them remains; and all Solemnity has become Pageantry; and the Creed of persons in authority has become one of two things: an Imbecility or a Machiavelism? Alas, of these ages World-History can take no notice; they have to become compressed more and more, and finally suppressed in the Annals of Mankind; blotted out as spurious — which indeed they are. Hapless ages: wherein, if ever in any, it is an unhappiness to be born. To be born, and to learn only, by every tradition and example, that God's Universe is Belial's and a Lie; and "the Supreme Quack" the hierarch of men! In which mournfullest faith, nevertheless, do we not see whole generations (two, and sometimes even three successively) live, what they call living; and vanish, — without chance of reappearance?

In such a decadent age, or one fast verging that way, had our poor Louis been born. Grant also that if the French Kingship had not, by course of Nature, long to live, he of all men was the man to accelerate Nature. The blossom of French Royalty, cactus-like, has accordingly made an astro-

ishing progress. In those Metz days, it was still standing with all its petals, though bedimmed by Orleans Regents and *Roué* Ministers and Cardinals; but now, in 1774, we behold it bald, and the virtue nigh gone out of it.

Disastrous indeed does it look with those same "realised Ideals," one and all! The Church, which in its palmy season, seven hundred years ago, could make an Emperor wait bare-foot in penance-shirt, three days, in the snow, has for centuries seen itself decaying; reduced even to forget old purposes and enmities, and join interest with the Kingship: on this younger strength it would fain stay its decrepitude; and these two will henceforth stand and fall together. Alas, the Sorbonne still sits there, in its old mansion; but mumbles only jargon of dotage, and no longer leads the consciences of men: not the Sorbonne; it is *Encyclopédies Philosophie*, and who knows what nameless innumerable multitude of ready Writers, profane Singers, Romancers, Players, Disputators, and Pamphleteers, that now form the Spiritual Guidance of the World. The world's Practical Guidance too is lost, or has glided into the same miscellaneous hands. Who is it that the King (*Able-man*, named also *Roi*, *Rex*, or Director) now guides? His own huntsmen and prickers: when there is to be no hunt, it is well said, "*Le Roi ne fera rien* (To-day his Majesty will do *nothing*)." He lives and lingers there, because he is living there, and none has yet laid hands on him.

The Nobles, in like manner, have nearly ceased either to guide or misguide; and are now, as their master is, little more than ornamental figures. It is long since they have done with butchering one another or their King; the Workers, protected, encouraged by Majesty, have ages ago built walled towns, and there ply their crafts; will permit no Robber Baron to "live by the saddle," but maintain a gallows to prevent it. Ever since that period of the *Fronde*, the Noble has changed his fighting sword into a court rapier; and now loyally attends his King as ministering satellite; divides the spoil, not now by violence and murder, but by soliciting and finesse. These men call themselves supports of the throne: singular gilt-pasteboard *caryatides* in that singular edifice! For the rest, their privileges every way are now much curtailed. That Law authorising a Seigneur, as he returned from hunting, to kill not more than two Serfs, and refresh his feet in their warm blood and bowels, has fallen into perfect desuetude,—and even into incredibility; for if Deputy *Lapoule* can believe in it, and call for the abrogation of it,

so cannot we. No Charolois, for these last fifty years, though never so fond of shooting, has been in use to bring down slaters and plumbers, and see them roll from their roofs; but contents himself with partridges and grouse. Close-viewed, their industry and function is that of dressing gracefully and eating sumptuously. As for their debauchery and their depravity, it is perhaps unexampled since the era of Tiberius and Commodus. Nevertheless, one has still partly a feeling with the lady Maréchale: "Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality." These people, of old, surely had virtues, uses; or they could not have been there. Nay, one virtue they are still required to have (for mortal man cannot live without a conscience): the virtue of perfect readiness to fight duels.

Such are the shepherds of the people: and now how fares it with the flock? With the flock, as is inevitable, it fares ill, and ever worse. They are not tended, they are only regularly shorn. They are sent for, to do statute-labour, to pay statute taxes; to fatten battle-fields (named "bed of honour") with their bodies, in quarrels which are not theirs; their hand and toil is in every possession of man; but for themselves they have little or no possession. Untaught, uncomfited, unfed; to pine stagnantly in thick obscurity, in squalid destitution and obstruction: this is the lot of the millions; *peuple tail-able et corvéable à merci et miséricorde*. In Brittany they once rose in revolt at the first introduction of Pendulum Clocks; thinking it had something to do with the *Gabelle*. Paris requires to be cleared out periodically by the police; and the horde of hunger-stricken vagabonds to be sent wandering again over space—for a time. "During one such periodical clearance," says Lacretelle, "in May, 1750, the Police had presumed withal to carry off some reputable people's children, in the hope of extorting ransoms for them. The mothers fill the public places with cries of despair; crowds gather, get excited; so many women in distraction run about exaggerating the alarm: an absurd and horrid fable rises among the people; it is said that the Doctors have ordered a Great Person to take baths of young human blood for the restoration of his own, all spoiled by debaucheries. Some of the rioters," adds Lacretelle, quite coolly, "were hanged on the following days:" the Police went on. O ye poor naked wretches! and this then is your inarticulate cry to Heaven, as of a dumb tortured animal, crying from uttermost depths of pain and debasement! Do these azure skies, like a dead

crystalline vault, only reverberate the echo of it on you? Respond to it only by "hanging on the following days?"—Not so: not forever! Ye are heard in Heaven. And the answer too will come,—in a horror of great darkness, and shakings of the world, and a cup of trembling which all the nations shall drink.

Remark, meanwhile, how from amid the wrecks and dust of this universal Decay new Powers are fashioning themselves, adapted to the new time, and its destinies. Besides the old Noblesse, originally of Fighters, there is a new recognised Noblesse of Lawyers; whose gala-day and proud battle-day even now is. An unrecognised Noblesse of Commerce; powerful enough, with money in its pocket. Lastly, powerfulest of all, least recognised of all, a Noblesse of Literature; without steel on their thigh, without gold in their purse, but with the "grand thaumaturgic faculty of Thought," in their head. French Philosophism has arisen; in which little word how much do we include! Here, indeed, lies properly the cardinal symptom of the whole wide-spread malady. Faith is gone out; Scepticism is come in. Evil abounds and accumulates; no man has Faith to withstand it, to amend it, to begin by amending himself; it must even go on accumulating. While hollow languor and vacuity is the lot of the Upper, and want and stagnation of the Lower, and universal misery is very certain, what other thing is certain? That a Lie cannot be believed! Philosophism knows only this: her other Belief is mainly that, in spiritual, supersensual matters, no belief is possible. Unhappy! Nay, as yet the Contradiction of a Lie is some kind of Belief; but the Lie with its Contradiction once swept away, what will remain? The five unsatiated senses will remain, the sixth insatiable Sense (of Vanity); the whole *demonic* nature of man will remain,—hurled forth to rage blindly without rule or rein; savage itself, yet with all the tools and weapons of civilisation: a spectacle new in History.

In such a France, as in a Powder-tower, where fire unquenched and now unquenchable is smoking and smouldering all round, has Louis XV. lain down to die. With Pompadourism and Dubarryism, his Fleur-de-lis has been shamefully struck down in all lands and on all seas; Poverty invades even the Royal Exchequer, and Tax-farming can squeeze out no more; there is a quarrel of twenty-five years' standing with the Parlement; everywhere Want, Dishonesty, Unbelief, and hot-brained Sciologists for state-physicians: it is a portentous hour.

Such things can the eye of History see in this sick-room of

King Louis, which were invisible to the Courtiers there. It is twenty years, gone Christmas-day, since Lord Chesterfield, summing up what he had noted of this same France, wrote, and sent off by post, the following words, that have become memorable: "In short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in History, previous to great Changes and Revolutions in Government, now exist and daily increase in France."

"If the convulsions of 1789-94 were due to the revolutionary doctrine, if that doctrine was the poison of the movement, how would M. Taine explain the firm, manly, steadfast, unhysterical quality of the American Revolution thirteen years before? It was theoretically based on exactly the same doctrine. Jefferson and Franklin were as well disciplined in the French philosophy of the eighteenth century as Mirabeau or Robespierre. The Declaration of Independence recites the same abstract and unhistoric propositions as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Why are we to describe the draught which Rousseau and the others had brewed, as a harmless or wholesome prescription for the Americans, and as maddening poison to the French? The answer must be that the quality of the drug is relative to the condition of the patient, and that the vital question for the student of the old régime and the circumstances of its fall is, What other drug, what better process, could have extricated France on more tranquil terms from her desperate case? The American colonists, in spite of the over-wide formulæ of their Declaration, really never broke with their past in any of its fundamental elements. They had a historic basis of laws and institutions which was still sound and whole, and the political severance from England made no breach in social continuity. If a different result followed in France, it was not because France was the land of the classic spirit, but because her institutions were inadequate and her ruling classes incompetent to transform them. M. Taine's figure of the man who drains the poisonous draught, as having been previously 'a little weak in constitution, but still sound and of peaceful habits,' is entirely delusive. The whole evidence shows that France was not sound, but the very reverse of sound."—*John Morley*.

Carlyle pronounces the French Revolution the beginning of the *Third Act* in the history of the world. "There is the next mile-stone for you, in the History of Mankind!" he says, in his *Frederick*, "That universal Burning-up, as in hellfire, of Human Shams. The oath of Twenty-five Million men, which has since become that of all men whatsoever, 'Rather than live longer under lies, we will die!'—that is the New Act in World-History. New Act,—or, we may call it New *Part*; Drama of World-History, Part Third. If Part *Second* was 1800 years ago, this I reckon will be Part *Third*. This is the truly celestial-infernal Event: the strangest we

have seen for a thousand years. Celestial in one part; in the other, infernal. For it is withal the breaking-out of universal mankind into Anarchy, into the faith and practice of *No-Government*, — that is to say (if you will be candid), into unappeasable Revolt against Sham-Governors and Sham-Teachers, — which I do charitably define to be a Search, most unconscious, yet in deadly earnest, for true Governors and Teachers. That is the one fact of World-History worth dwelling on at this day."

The "marvelous work of Carlyle," as the latest English historian of the French Revolution justly characterizes it, will doubtless remain forever the greatest work upon that most impressive event in modern history. "The more a man learns about the details of the French Revolution," says John Morley, who of all living Englishmen has learned most about it and written best about it, "the greater is his admiration for Mr. Carlyle's magnificent performance. By force of penetrating imaginative genius, he has reproduced in stirring and resplendent dithyrambs the fire and passion, the rags and tears, the many-tinted dawn and the blood-red sunset of the Revolution. But," adds Mr. Morley, "it is dramatic presentation, not social analysis; a masterpiece of literature, not a scientific investigation; a prodigy of poetic insight, not a sane and quantitative exploration of the complex processes, the deep-lying economical, fiscal and political conditions, that produced so immense an explosion." "A prose poem," President White, perhaps our own most thorough student of the French Revolution, calls Carlyle's history — "not just, not complete, yet some of his judgments seem inspired, and many of his pictures are marvelous." And Lowell, who has said that "with the gift of song Carlyle would have been the greatest of epic poets since Homer," would doubtless point to the *French Revolution* as the great evidence and illustration of it. Whatever else the student reads about the French Revolution, he must read Carlyle's work first and last. Carlyle's essays on Voltaire and Mirabeau and on the "Parliamentary History of the Revolution" should be read, as well as his general history.

The new *History of the French Revolution*, by H. Morse Stephens, now appearing in England, is the result of studies of the vast amount of literature and new facts which have come to light in France since Carlyle wrote. "The most valuable English works upon the period," says Mr. Stephens, "Croker's *Essays* and Smyth's *Lectures*, are both now out of date, and even G. H. Lewes's *Life of Robespierre*, though in some ways the most remarkable book published upon that statesman in any language, is often incorrect in details. In more modern days nothing very valuable upon the period has been published in England with the exception of *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, by the Rev. W. H. Jervis, Mr. John Morley's essays on Condorcet and Robespierre, and Mr. Oscar Browning's most valuable edition of the *Gower Despatches*. Scattered papers of more or less value have been published in various reviews and magazines, but no real history of the *French Revolution* has been published in England since Carlyle's great work." Mr. Stephens's references to the recent French and German litera-

ture on the subject are very valuable and should be consulted by the special student.

The *Essays on the Early Period of the French Revolution*, referred to by Croker, whose vast collection of pamphlets upon the Revolution was acquired by the British Museum, are learned essays written essentially from the standpoint of Burke. The first essay is a severe criticism of Thiers's history, the writer declaring that he had been forced "to deny the accuracy, to contest the details, and to question the good faith of that work" — the work pronounced by President White "the most successful history of the Revolution ever written." Mr. Stephens refers to Morley's essays on Condorcet and Robespierre. His essays on Turgot and on "France in the Eighteenth Century," the latter an able review of Taine's *Ancien Régime*, are equally important; and his biographies of Voltaire and Rousseau will be read by those who would trace the intellectual forces which produced the Revolution. The article on Danton in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is also by Mr. Morley. There is an essay by Oscar Browning on "France and England in 1793," in *Topics of the Time*, vol. iv. Dowden has an essay upon "The French Revolution and Literature," in his *Studies in Literature*. Frederic Harrison discusses the "Histories of the French Revolution," in his *Choice of Books*, etc. See also Merivale on "Some of the Precursors of the Revolution," in his *Historical Studies*, and Mackintosh's "Defence of the Revolution," in his *Works*, vol. iii. Of Buckle's discussion of the causes of the Revolution, in his *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i, President White says, "Whatever may be said of other parts of this work, it can hardly be denied that these chapters form an epoch in the writing of history; if but one thing be read on the events introducing the Revolution, this should be that one thing." Lord John Russell published a work on the *Causes of the Revolution*. Tocqueville's work on *France before the Revolution* has always been very highly regarded in England and America, and should be compared with Taine's later work. Charles Kingsley's *Ancien Régime* consists of three exceedingly bright and interesting lectures given to the students of the University of Cambridge, on the state of France preceding the Revolution.

But of all English works on the character of the Revolution, Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in London while the Revolution was in progress (1790), had the greatest historical significance. It was written from the standpoint of the English Whig, unable to measure the new democratic forces. Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, which had an immense circulation and influence in England and America, was an answer to Burke. Quite in the spirit of Burke was an able pamphlet on *The Origin and Principles of the American Revolution compared with the Origin and Principles of the French Revolution*, by Gentz, a German scholar, translated by John Quincy Adams and published at Philadelphia in 1800. It is interesting for us now to read Adams's preface to this translation. "The work is for two reasons highly interesting to Americans,"

he says; "first, because it contains the clearest account of the rise and progress of the revolution which established their independence, that has ever appeared within so small compass; and secondly, because it rescues that revolution from the disgraceful imputation of having proceeded from the same principles as that of France." This last observation takes us into the atmosphere of the bitter differences of opinion about the Revolution which prevailed in America at the time. Adams would have felt that the English Revolution of 1688 offered some true analogy to the American Revolution. It is therefore interesting to read in connection the pamphlet by Condorcet, *Reflections on the English Revolution of 1688, and that of the French, August 10, 1792*, translated and published in London late in 1792. "The revolution of England in 1688, compared with the revolution of France in 1792," says Condorcet, "presents, in the motives which occasioned both of them and the principles by which they were directed, a parallel which, notwithstanding the difference of the times, the circumstances and the state of knowledge, proves that the cause of the French is exactly similar to that of the English, and indeed to that of all nations who are or who have conceived the hope of being free. . . . All who do not acknowledge in kings and princes a power independent of the people, of which they cannot be deprived either by their usurpations or their crimes, that is to say all those who could not be slaves, must equally approve both the revolution of France and the revolution of England." He maintains indeed that the advantage here is with the French. "A considerable portion of the people, combining by spontaneous impulse and addressing themselves to a legal assembly of the whole, depart much less from the common order of law than a particular association of citizens, addressing themselves to a foreign prince; and the influence of the former portion of the people, armed in their own defense, was much less dangerous to freedom than the presence of a foreign army, devoted to the will of a single chief." The contrasted views suggested by these two pamphlets should be made subjects of careful thought by our young students of the Revolution.

There are two brief English histories of the French Revolution, which will especially serve the young people — one by Mrs. B. M. Gardiner, in the "Epochs of Modern History" series, the other by William O'Connor Morris, in the "Epochs of History" series. The American edition of the latter work is made more valuable by an appendix upon the bibliography of the subject and a course of study, by Andrew D. White, late president of Cornell University, who has been referred to as perhaps our most thorough student of the Revolution and is himself preparing a history of the Revolution. The title of Mr. Morris's book is *The French Revolution and the First Empire*, his narrative covering the career of Napoleon. H. Van Laun's larger work on *The French Revolutionary Epoch* is a history of France from the beginning of the Revolution to the end of the Second Empire. Prof. Charles K. Adams's *Democracy and Monarchy in France* covers a period from before the Revolution down to the Franco-Prussian war. Dickens's *Tale of Two*

Cities, one of the greatest historical novels ever written, should be read by every student for its powerful pictures of the tyrannies and sufferings which compelled the Revolution and the horrors which marked its course; and Arthur Young's *Travels in France* in 1787-9 is valuable by way of illustration.

Von Sybel's *History of the French Revolution* is probably the best German work, and this has been translated, like most of the important French histories. Stephens refers to the various French histories as follows: "Mignet's account, published in 1824, is to this day the most useful manual of the history of the Revolution and, from the clear insight of the great historian into the facts of which he treated, it is certain to retain its position. Mignet's fault was in being too terse, Thiers erred in the opposite direction. No one can deny the wonderful mastery of the art of weaving up a mass of details into an interesting shape which Thiers possessed, yet his history of the Revolution is marked by the blemishes which disfigure his far greater history of the Consulate and Empire. He is often inaccurate and often unfair, and allowed his own political hopes and fears to influence his narrative. Louis Blanc's history is also of immense length, but it is marred by being written for a political purpose and not to give a true account of facts. Quinet's history is both shorter and more brilliant than Louis Blanc's, but it is influenced in the same way by the author's political opinions. Of Michelet's history it can only be said that it is a work of genius, of genius of the most lofty character, but that it fails, as every history written by a Frenchman, who loves his country, is bound to fail, in trying to estimate the virtues and vices of his own ancestors. With Michelet's history may be classed Lamartine's rhapsodies, which exhibit indeed the genius of the poet, but not the careful industry of the historian. Martin's history, which is a continuation of his great *Histoire de France*, was written in his old age, and is without doubt the weakest thing he ever did. M. Taine's volumes deserve a longer notice. For style, vigor and power, they are unequalled; but the same remark must be made of him as of Michelet. He cannot do justice to all the actors engaged in that terrible crisis which is called the French Revolution, and it is not to be expected from him or from any Frenchman for at least a century. Only when the results of the Revolution cease to be burning political questions, and the names of its heroes cease to be flags, round which parties rally, can Frenchmen treat the history of their Revolution with dispassionate calmness."

It is always necessary to take into account the bias of every writer upon the histories of the Revolution. President White agrees with Stephens, when he says that Mignet's is "the best, by far, of all the short histories." It is interesting to know that Lafayette approved Mignet's work as giving the fairest and most perfect idea of the Revolution of any account which had appeared in his time. But upon Lafayette's own attitude in the Revolution there is, of course, great difference of opinion. Michelet regards him as too much influenced by the American Federalists who took their tone from the English Whigs. "The Americans," he says, "though so resolute against

England in every affair of interest, are weak and partial towards her in questions of ideas. English literature is ever their literature; and the pernicious pamphlet warfare carried on by the English against us influenced the Americans and, through them, Lafayette. At least, they did not support him in his primitive republican aspirations. He postponed his grand ideal and fell back, at least provisionally, to English ideas — to a certain Anglo-American spurious eclecticism. Besides, he himself, though American in ideas, was English by education, and a little so even in figure and appearance."

The relation of our own politics to French politics at the time of the Revolution is a subject of much importance. Carlyle, in the chapter from his history printed in the present leaflet, speaks thus of the outbreak of the American Revolution and its effect in France: "Borne over the Atlantic, to the closing ear of Louis, King by the Grace of God, what sounds are these; muffled-ominous, new in our centuries? Boston Harbour is black with unexpected Tea: behold a Pennsylvanian Congress gather; and ere long, on Bunker Hill, DEMOCRACY announcing, in rifle-volleys death-winged, under her Star Banner, to the tune of Yankee-doodle-doo, that she is born and, whirlwindlike, will envelope the whole world!" Lewis Rosenthal's *America and France* is a valuable study of the influence of the United States on France in the Eighteenth Century. The lives of Franklin and Jefferson should also be read.

1789 is perhaps the most important date in modern history, that year witnessing alike the beginning of the French Revolution and the inauguration of Washington as first president of the American Republic. The French Revolution may be said to have raged violently — there were long preliminaries — from the 14th of July, 1789, the day of the storming of the Bastille, until the 4th of October, 1795, the day of Bonaparte's "whiff of grape-shot." "The thing we specifically call *French Revolution*," says Carlyle, "is blown into space by this whiff of grape-shot, and become a thing that was." But it was not until 1799, the year of Washington's death, that Napoleon became First Consul. 1793 was the year of the "Reign of Terror." In 1789, William Pitt was prime minister of England, having become so six years before — the year that England recognized our independence and the treaty of peace was signed — at the early age of twenty-four. The elder Pitt, Lord Chatham, had been dead about ten years. George the Third was still King — his sixty years' reign did not end till 1820 — but this was the time of his insanity. Frederick the Great had been dead three years, and Prussia was now a great power. Joseph II was emperor of Austria and Catherine II was empress of Russia. The first partition of Poland had taken place about the time our Revolution began. Maria Theresa, born in the same year as Frederick, 1740, died about the close of our Revolution. Kosciuszko, who had been over to help us in the Revolution, became a major-general in the Polish army this year, 1789, and led the disastrous insurrection against Russia during Washington's administration. Kant was

writing his great works at Königsberg — published the *Critique of Practical Reason* the year before, the *Critique of the Judgment* the year after; his greatest work, the *Critique of Pure Reason*, had been published in 1781, the year that the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown sealed the success of our cause, which was so dear to Kant himself, and the year of the death of Lessing, the great pioneer, with Kant, of modern German thought. It was the golden age of German literature. Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Klopstock, Wieland, Richter, Novalis, Tieck, the Humboldts, the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel were all living; Neander was born this year; Niebuhr had been born the year of our Declaration of Independence; Heine was born the last year of the century, 1800. In 1789, Goethe, recently returned from his Italian journey, was becoming acquainted with Schiller, that year made professor of history at Jena; Herder, at Weimar, was publishing his *Philosophy of History*; Klopstock, the Nestor of the German writers — b. in 1724, the same year with Kant, d. in 1803, the year before Kant died — was living at Hamburg, the last books of his *Messias* having been published just as our Revolution was beginning; Fichte was a tutor at Zurich, full of revolutionary thoughts; poor Jean Paul was just beginning his literary career; Tieck, Novalis, the Humboldts, the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, Schelling, Hegel, all of about the same age, were either students in the universities or about to begin their student life. Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were living — Mozart, who died two years later, having just produced his *Don Giovanni*, and Beethoven, a youth of nineteen, being about to go to study with Haydn at Vienna. Gluck had just died, and Weber had just been born. Hahnemann was practicing medicine at Dresden, about ready to announce his new system of homœopathy. Pestalozzi was teaching school — had commenced teaching the year our Revolution began, and published his *Leonard and Gertrude* the year of Yorktown. Canova was already a great sculptor in Italy, though still young. Thorwaldsen was a youth at Copenhagen.

Burke, Fox and Sheridan were all in Parliament in 1789. All had taken part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, whose trial, begun the year before, was progressing in 1789. Warren Hastings, Necker, Lalande, the great astronomer, and Haydn were all born the same year with Washington, 1732, which is something easy for Americans to remember. The young people would find it useful to make a list of the great men who were born in that decade, 1730-40, of the important books published in that decade — Pope's *Essay on Man*, Butler's *Analogy*, Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, and Rollin's *Ancient History* were some of them — etc. Similarly it is useful to see how many things in that crowded Eighteenth Century can be related to the years of our Revolution. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, the standard exposition of English law, was published in the very year (1765) of the Stamp Act, by which our fathers felt that the primary political rights of Englishmen were violated. This was the time, too, of Wilkes and his fight for the freedom of the press. The famous *Letters of Junius* began to ap-

pear, and James Watt took out the first patent for his steam-engine, the year before the Boston Massacre. George Stephenson was born the year of Yorktown. Between those dates Wordsworth, Walter Scott, Sydney Smith, Coleridge, Ricardo, Fourier, Southey, Charles Lamb, Turner, Jane Austen, O'Connell, Campbell, Humphry Davy and Thomas Moore were born, and Whitefield, Chatterton, Gray, Smollett, Goldsmith, Hume, Chatham, Voltaire, Rousseau and Garrick died. Between those dates were published the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Chesterfield's *Letters*, John Howard's *State of the Prisons*, Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (his *Dictionary* had been published in 1755, the year of the Lisbon earthquake, and Boswell's *Life of Johnson* was published during the French Revolution), Miss Burney's *Evelina*, the *Olney Hymns* and Cowper's principal poems, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and the first three volumes of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The first volume of this great work by Gibbon, who in Parliament supported Lord North in his oppressive policy toward the American colonies, appeared the very year of our Declaration of Independence, which was also the year, as it is more interesting to remember, of the appearance of the *Wealth of Nations*, the great foundation work in the science of political economy. In the same year appeared the first work of Jeremy Bentham, his anonymous *Fragment on Government*. The last volumes of Gibbon's work did not appear until 1788, which was the year that the publication of the London *Times* began. The time of our Revolution was also the time of Captain Cook and his voyages round the world, of the discovery of oxygen by Priestley, of the suggestion of vaccination by Jenner, of William Herschel and his telescopes, of the starting of Sunday Schools by Robert Raikes, of the sinking of the "Royal George," of the Montgolfiers and their air balloon, the time of Wedgwood and Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, and of the later life of John Wesley. Wesley, who it will be remembered came over to Georgia to preach to the settlers and the Indians just after Washington was born, lived until two years after Washington's inauguration. Charles Wesley died the year before the inauguration. Whitefield died in America just before the Revolution. General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, the last of the original thirteen colonies, lived, in England, until after the Revolution.

The great number of noted men who were born in the "9" years of the middle decades of the Eighteenth Century has often been remarked upon. An easy and useful thing to remember is that Goethe, Alfieri, Mirabeau, Fox, Laplace, Jenner and Tippoo Saib were all born in 1749; Schiller, Burns, Pitt, Wilberforce, Danton and Robespierre in 1759; and Napoleon, Wellington, Ney, Cuvier and Humboldt in 1769. Coming forward to 1779, we come to the birth of Thomas Moore; going back to 1729, to the birth of Lessing.

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